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Jagernaut
Cuttack
Kathmandoo
Ellore
Masulipatam
Indore
Oojein
Bhopal
Tatta
Kutch
Attock
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INDIA

PICTORIAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL.

INDIA

PICTORIAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT.

WITH

NEARLY ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

MDCCC

PREFACE.

THE major portion of the present volume is a reprint, evised and enlarged, of the work of Miss Corner, a lady f approved judgment in historical composition. The mainder has been furnished by the Editor of the lume on China recently published in this series. In joint transaction of this nature, where the matter is so itermixed and the additions and insertions are so numerous, it is manifestly impossible, without entering into edious details, to indicate the respective pens. All that t seems necessary to state is, that Miss Corner's work xtends only to the conclusion of the first Sik war. or the continuation of the narrative, and for any pinions expressed after that period, the present Editor one is responsible.

York Street, Covent Garden.

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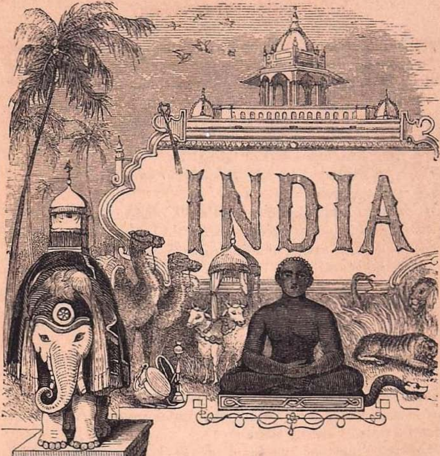
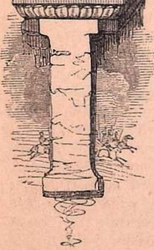


EARLY HISTORY.



IT is universally believed that the rich, fertile, and extensive region known by the name of India, was one of the earliest civilized countries of the ancient world. It has never been, like China, a great monarchy united under one head (although it nearly approached that condition under the first Grand Moguls or Mussulman Emperors), but has, from the most remote ages, been divided into many states, of which the early history is very uncertain.

The empire of the Hindūs was probably founded as early as that of the Chinese, and, long before the Greek invasion, it had attained to a high degree of prosperity, and made con-

siderable progress in various arts. Several large kingdoms, under a well-regulated form of government, besides an infinite number of smaller states, were in existence many centuries before the Christian era; but there is no authentic history respecting their foundation, nor are there any records of their first rulers, except the romantic legends of the ancient poets of the land, which are full of fables.

INDIA is bounded by the Hémaláya mountains, the river Indus, and the sea.

Its length from Cashmir to Cape Comorin is about 1900 British miles; and its breadth from the mouth of the Indus to the mountains east of the Baramputra considerably upwards of 1500 British miles.

It is crossed from east to west by a chain of mountains, called the Vindya, which extends between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of latitude, nearly from the desert north-west of Guzerát to the Ganges.

The country to the north of this chain is now called HINDŪSTAN, and that to the south of it the DECKAN.

Hindūstan is composed of the basin of the Indus, that of the Ganges, the desert toward the Indus, and the high tract recently called Central India.

The upper part of the basin of the Indus (now called the Panjáb, or Five Rivers) is open and fertile to the east of the Hydaspes, but rugged to the west of that river, and sandy towards the junction of the five rivers. After the Indus forms one stream, it flows through a plain between mountains and the desert, of which only the part within reach of its waters is productive. As it approaches the sea, it divides into several branches, and forms a fertile though very ill cultivated delta.

The basin of the Ganges (though many of the streams which water it have their rise in hilly countries, and though the central part is not free from diversity of surface) may be said on the whole to be one vast and fertile plain. This tract was the residence of the people who first figure in the history of India; and it is still the most advanced in civilization of all the divisions of that country.

A chain of hills, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Aravalli, is connected by lower ranges with the western extremity of the Vindya mountains on the borders of Guzerát, and stretches up to a considerable distance beyond Ajmir, in

the direction of Delhi; forming the division between the desert on the west and the central table-land. It would be more correct to say *the level* of the desert; for the south-eastern portion, including Yodpúr, is a fertile country. Except this tract, all between the Aravalli mountains and the Indus, from the Sutlej or Hysndrus on the north to near the sea on the south, is a waste of sand, in which are oases of different size and fertility, the greatest of which is round Jessalmir. The narrow tract of Cach intervenes between the desert and the sea, and makes a sort of bridge from Guzerát to Sind.

Central India is the smallest of these four natural divisions. It is a table-land of uneven surface, from 1500 to 2500 feet above the sea, bounded by the Aravalli mountains on the west, and the Vindyas on the south; supported on the east by a lower range in Bundelcand, and sloping gradually on the north-east into the basin of the Ganges. It is a diversified, but, on the whole, a fertile tract.

The Vindya mountains form the southern limit of Hindūstan; but beyond them, separated by the deep valley of the Nerbadda, is a parallel chain called Injádri or Sátpúra, which must be crossed before we reach the next natural division in the valley of the Tapti. This small tract is low; but the rest of the Deckan is almost entirely occupied by a table-land of triangular form, about the level of that of Central India, supported on all sides by ranges of hills. The two longest ranges, which run towards the south, follow the form of the peninsula, and between them and the sea lies a low narrow tract, forming a sort of belt round the whole coast. The hills which support the table-land are called the Gháts. The range to the west is the highest and most marked; and the low tract beneath it narrowest and most rugged.

The table-land itself is greatly diversified in surface and fertility. Two parts, however, are strongly distinguished and the limit between them may be marked by the Warda, from its source in the Injadri range, north-west of Nágpúr, to its junction with the Godáveri, and then by the joint rivers to the sea. All to the north and east of these rivers is a vast forest spotted with villages, and sometimes interrupted by cultivated tracts of considerable extent. To the south-west of the rivers, the country, though varied, is generally open and cultivated.

Guzerát and Bengal are regarded by the natives as included

neither in Hindūstan nor in the Deckan; they differ greatly from each other, but each has a resemblance to the part of Hindūstan which adjoins it. Though the Deckan, properly speaking, includes all to the south of the Vindya mountains, yet, in modern practice, it is often limited to the part between that chain and the river Kishna.

The superficial extent of India is estimated at 1,287,483 square miles. The population may be taken at 140,000,000; but this is the present population; in very early Hindū times it was certainly much less, and in later days probably much greater.

The population is very unequally distributed. In one very extensive district of Bengal Proper (Bardwán), it was ascertained to be 600 souls to the square mile. In some forest tracts, ten to the square mile might be an exaggeration. In many parts you may travel from sunrise to sunset without seeing a single habitation or any sign of the existence of man. Here jungle succeeds to jungle; the whole country is a wild, dense, matted forest, with bare sandy tracts intervening at long intervals. But these woods are well peopled with wild animals, and afford abundant occupation and delight to the sportsman.

Though the number of large towns and cities in India is remarkable, none of them are very populous. In their present state of decline, none exceed the population of second-rate cities in Europe. Calcutta, without its suburbs, has only 265,000 inhabitants; and not more than two or three of the others can have above 200,000 fixed population.

A tract extending from 8° north latitude to 35°, and varying in height from the level of the sea to the summits of Hémaláya, must internally include the extremes of heat and cold; but on the general level of India, within the great northern chain, the diversity is comparatively inconsiderable.

The characteristic of the climate, compared to that of Europe, is heat. In a great part of the country the sun is scorching for three months in the year; even the wind is hot, the land is brown and parched, dust flies in whirlwinds, all brooks become dry, small rivers scarcely keep up a stream, and the largest are reduced to comparatively narrow channels in the midst of vast sandy beds.

In winter, slight frost sometimes takes place for an hour or

two about sunrise; but this is only in the parts of the country which lie far north, or are much elevated above the sea. At a low level, if towards the south, the greatest cold in winter is only moderate heat; and on an average of the whole of India, it is not much more than what is marked *temperate* on our thermometers; while the hottest time of the day even at that period rises above our *summer heat.* The cold, however, is much greater to the feelings than would be supposed from the thermometer. In the months which approach to neither extreme the temperature is higher than in the heat of summer in Italy.

The next peculiarity in the climate of India is the periodical rainy season. The rains are brought from the Indian Ocean by a south-west wind (or monsoon, as it is called), which lasts from June to October. They are heaviest near the sea, especially in low countries, unless in situations protected by mountains. The coast of Coromandel, for instance, is sheltered from the south-west monsoon by the Ghâts and the table-land, and receives its supply of rain in October and November, when the wind blows from the north-east across the Bay of Bengal. The intenseness of the fall of rain can scarcely be conceived in Europe. Though it is confined to four months, and in them many days of every month, and many hours of every day are fair, yet the whole fall of rain in India is considerably more than double that which is distributed over the whole twelve months in England.

The variations that have been mentioned divide the year into three seasons: the hot, the rainy, and the cold, or rather temperate; which last is a good deal longer than either the other two.*

The territories of British India, including our protected and dependent States, have a land frontier of 16,000 miles, and the sea frontier is very nearly the same immense length. We give round numbers that they may be the more easily retained by memory. We have rather under-stated than over-stated the extent of the two frontiers which we now have to maintain and defend against all comers.

Within these extensive limits, every variety of climate, from that of the burning desert to that of the frozen regions, is to be

* Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone, 'History of India.'

found. Everywhere the climate of the hills is salubrious and bracing, well suited to the English constitution, and equally well adapted to the production of European fruits, vegetables, and cereals. The Neilgherry hills afford delightful summer residences and refuges from the scorching summer heats of the low countries. The lower ridges and sloping sides of the vast Hemalaya—particularly at Simla, where our Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief so frequently reside—offer the same or even greater advantages; and if you ascend those towering mountains in the rear of Simla, the loftiest peak of which measures not less than 28,000 feet from the level of the sea, you get into regions of glaciers, Mers de Glace, and eternal snows.

Although it was long thought otherwise, it is now quite certain that there were early inhabitants in this vast Peninsula, and that the Hindūs are not the Aborigines. These are to be sought for among some of the Pariah classes, among the Bheels, Khonds, Merawatts, and other wild hill tribes, of whom more particular notice will be taken in another chapter. In the whole of India there is no trace of nomadic tribes, such as still subsist in Persia, Turkey, and most other Asiatic countries. "Of all ancient nations," says the excellent Mr. M. Elphinstone, "the Egyptians are the one whom the Hindūs seem most to have resembled; but our knowledge of that people is too limited to reflect light on any other with which they might be compared. It might be easier to compare the Hindūs with the Greeks, as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with the compilation of the first Hindū code; and, however inferior in spirit and energy, as well as in elegance, to that heroic race, yet, on contrasting their laws and forms of administration, the state of the arts of life, and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the Eastern nation seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society. Their internal institutions were less rude; their conduct to their enemies more humane; their general learning was much more considerable; and, in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens. Yet the Greeks were polished by a free communication with many nations, and have recorded the improvements which they early derived from

each; while the Hindū civilization grew up alone, and thus acquired an original and peculiar character that continues to spread an interest over the higher stages of refinement to which its unaided efforts afterwards enabled it to attain. It may, however, be doubted, whether this early and independent civilization was not a misfortune to the Hindūs; for, seeing themselves superior to all the tribes of whom they had knowledge, they learned to despise the institutions of foreigners and to revere their own, until they became incapable of receiving improvement from without, and averse to novelties even amongst themselves."*

Whence did these remarkable people originally proceed? Where was their home and what their race and lineage before they spread themselves over Hindūstan and the Deckan? These are questions difficult to answer. The most ancient of their books have no reference whatever to any country out of India. Even their mythology goes no further than the Hemalaya mountains, on whose sublime heights it fixes the habitations of the gods. Modern philologists have proved the common origin of the Sanscrit language with the languages of the West; and this leaves no doubt that there was once a connexion between the nations by whom these languages are used; but it proves nothing as to the place where such a connexion subsisted, or as to the time, which may have been in so early a stage of their society as to prevent its throwing any light on the history of the individual nations. "To say that it spread from a central point is a gratuitous assumption, and even contrary to analogy; for ancient emigration and civilization did not spread in a circle, but from east to west. Where also could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia untouched? The question, therefore, is still open."†

The Persians gave to the country the name of Hindūstan, from being the country of the Hindūs, or Hindoos; but in more early ages it was called by themselves Bharata, and sometimes Punya bhnim, or the land of virtues: a name expressive of the gentle government, and flourishing condition of a mild and happy people. The Greeks derive the name of

* 'History of India.' The Hindū and Mahometan Periods.

† Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone.

India, which has been so generally adopted, from the Persian appellation; and in modern times, India has been used as a general name, not only for the extensive region above-mentioned, but the still more eastern tracts of country, with the island of Ceylon, and those in the oriental Archipelago. Sir William Jones traces the foundation of the Indian empire above 3800 years from the present time; the highest age of the Yajur Veda to 1580 years before the birth of Christ, or 100 years before the birth of Moses; and the highest age of the Institutes of Menu, to 1280 years before the birth of our Saviour. "The origin of the Hindoos," says Forbes, "like that of most other nations, buried in obscurity, and lost in fable, has baffled the researches of the ablest investigators. Megasthenes, who was sent ambassador by Seleucus, to Sahdracottos, king of Practri, whose dominion now forms the fertile provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oude, wrote an account of his embassy, which Arrian has preserved in his history of India; and that narrative, written 2000 years ago, when compared with the modern history of the Hindūs, convinces us how little change they have undergone in that long period, nor have the conquests and cruelties of their Mahomedan invaders, nor their commercial intercourse with the Europeans settled among them, been able to alter the long-established manners and customs so deeply interwoven with their religious tenets."*

Many have imagined that the Hindūs originally wandered from some more western climate, and located themselves on the banks of the Indus, where at first they occupied only a small tract of land, about 150 miles to the north of the present city of Delhi. Others have supposed that the first settlers were merely a company of priests, from whom descended the powerful order of Bramins, who established their religion with a form of government constituted by themselves, and gained an ascendancy over the barbarian natives by the influence of superior learning. This theory, however, will not hold. The Hindūs did not mingle with the conquered race or races, as the Normans did with the Saxons; they did not even govern or rule over them, but they expelled them—driving them to the woods and mountains, where they are yet to be

* Oriental Memoirs.

found with blood unmixed with that of the Hindūs. The first in-comers of the Hindū race may have been priests as well as warriors, but they must have brought with them, or have been followed by the people of their own race—the only people over whom they ever established their government.

The Hindūs are divided into four principal tribes, proceeding from Brama, the creating power, in the following manner:—the Bramin, issuing from the mouth, implying wisdom, to pray, to read, and to instruct; the Cshatriza, or Ketterees, proceeding from the arms, implying strength to draw the bow, to fight, and to govern; the Bhyse, coming from the belly or thighs, which implies nourishment; these must provide the necessaries of life by agriculture and commerce; and the Sudra, coming from the feet, which means subjection; these are born to labour and to serve; and these chief tribes, or castes, are distinguished as the followers of Vishnoo, and Seeva; called Vishnoo-bukht, and Seeva-bukht. The Bramins study religion, astronomy, arts and sciences; they are the instructors of youth, take care of the dewals, or temples, and perform every kind of charity. The Cshatriza tribe includes kings, nobles, magistrates, officers, and the superior orders of mankind. The Vursya, or Bhyse, are employed in commerce, agriculture, arms, and the occupation of shepherds and herdsmen. The Sudra, or Soodee, consists of manufacturers, mechanics, servants, and all the lower classes of society. Each of these principal tribes is subdivided into a number of classes, or castes, amounting in all to eighty-four; who neither intermarry, nor intimately associate with each other. So that each caste differs in features, dress, and appearance as much as if they were of different nations; and by laws most strictly observed, they are separated from each other by insurmountable barriers. The Bramins are in all respects the first caste among the Hindūs, and by the laws are entitled to very extraordinary privileges, especially in cases of delinquency: no other tribe is admitted to the priesthood; to them are all the mysteries of their religion and sacred knowledge confined. They alone understand the language of the Shastah, or Shastras, those holy volumes which contain the religion and philosophy of the Hindūs, which are divided into four Bedes, or Vedas, a word signifying science. They contain one hundred thousand stanzas of four

lines each, treating of divination, astronomy, natural philosophy, the creation of the world, religious ceremonies, prayers, morality and piety; including hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, and in honour of subaltern intelligence. These books the Bramins esteem so sacred, that they permit no other caste to read them, and they are written in the Sanscrit language, which is now understood by very few except the Bramins, and not by all of them, for although there can be no Hindū priest that is not a Bramin, yet it by no means implies that all of the Bramin tribe are priests; on the contrary, they are employed in political and revenue departments, and appear in various public characters under the governments in India; the great and powerful Mahratta empire is at this day ruled by a Bramin sovereign, with the title of Peishwa: others throughout the vast peninsula, pursue a variety of employments in the agricultural and commercial lines, and some even cultivate their own lands. In fact, the Bramins in India, like the Emirs in Persia and Turkey, may be found in every rank and every condition of life. In the Mussulman countries the Emirs, who have the distinction of the green turban, and who are all reputed to be the lineal descendants of the Prophet Mahomet, are often found in abject poverty, exercising the callings of charcoal burners, street porters, camel drivers, and the like; and so it is in India with the Bramins. Many of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers in our Sepoy regiments, and in the Company's artillery and cavalry, are by birth Bramins.

The Hindū religion admits of no proselytes, and is therefore a principal means of preserving the castes pure and distinct; neither have the Mahomedan conquests and oppressions, nor the intercourse of Europeans with the Hindūs been able to subvert a system of theology and jurisprudence founded on a firm basis, and interdicted from all change by the most rigid laws. This religious and moral system is no doubt of great antiquity; but those who have deeply investigated the ancient and pleasing fictions of the Hindū mythology, which bears a great resemblance to that of the Greeks, and may perhaps be charged to the same origin, are of opinion, that the religious and civil laws of the Hindūs, called the Institutes of Menu, were compiled about 1280 years before the birth of our Saviour; that the Vedas or sacred

volumes, were written three hundred years prior to the Institutes, and that, preceding this period, everything being handed down by oral tradition, the account was obscure and fabulous. But divested of extraneous matter, there appears to be a great degree of purity and sublimity in the genuine principles of the Hindū religion, though now obscured by superstitious rites and ceremonies and blended with gross idolatry. In their original simplicity, they teach that there is one Supreme Ruler of the universe, who is styled Bramā, or the Great One: they inculcate also, that this Supreme Intelligence consists of a triad, or triple divinity, expressed by the mystic word Om, and distinguished by the names of Vishnu, Bramā, and Siva; or the creating, preserving and destructive power of the Almighty. Images of these attributes are placed in their temples, and worship and sacrifices are daily performed before them, and a variety of other statues, representing the different qualities of the supreme being: so that it is a complete system of polytheism and a source of a thousand fables subversive of truth and simplicity. Yet it ever was, and ever must be difficult for either Christians or Mahomedans to convert a Hindū, for with them theology is so blended with the whole moral and civil obligations of life, that it enters into every habit, and sanctions almost every action. On withdrawing the veil from the sacred volume of the Hindūs, we see Brama, or the supreme deity, represented as absorbed in the contemplation of his own reason, but from an impulse of divine love, resolving to create other beings to partake of his glory, and to be happy to all eternity. He spake the word, and angels rose into existence! He commanded, and the host of heaven were formed! they were created free; and were made partakers of the divine glory and beatitude on the easy condition of praising their Creator, and acknowledging him for their supreme lord. But not content with this happy state in the celestial regions, some of the principal spirits rebelled and drew a number after them, who were all doomed to languish in that scene of horror, so finely described by our sublime poet. In process of time, at the intercession of the faithful angels, the fatal doom of these fallen spirits was revoked; and they were released on the conditions of repentance and amendment, in a state of probation. For this purpose a new creation of worlds took place; and mortal

bodies were prepared for the apostate angels, which they were to animate for a certain space; there to be subject to natural and moral evils, through which they were doomed to transmigrate under eighty-nine different forms! the last into that of man! when their powers and faculties are enlarged, and a merciful Creator rests his chief expectations on their repentance and restoration to his favour. If they then fail their punishment is renewed, and they are doomed to begin again their first state of transmigration. In this system we are struck with the intermixture of truth with error, and false traditions, bearing in many particulars a resemblance to the sacred truths of divine revelation. On this hypothesis, it appears that one principal reason for the Hindūs regarding the cow with such religious veneration, is, that they believe the soul transmigrates into this animal immediately preceding its assumption of the human form. No Hindū, even of the lowest caste, will kill a cow or taste its flesh; they will die with perfect resignation rather than violate this tenet, as has been frequently experienced on board the vessels in the Indian Seas, when all the provisions except salt beef have been expended. But I am not certain respecting the first principle of the Hindū's veneration for the cow, since many conjecture the command to have originated in the preservation of an animal so useful to mankind: and it is well known that the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and other ancient nations, have equally venerated this valuable animal. The Hindūs estimate the delinquency of these apostate spirits, by the class of mortal forms which they are doomed to inhabit; thus all voracious and unclean animals, whether inhabitants of earth, air, or water, as well as men whose lives and actions are publicly and atrociously wicked, are supposed to contain a malignant spirit; on the contrary, those animals which subsist on vegetables, and do not prey upon each other, are pronounced favoured of the Almighty. That every animal form is endued with cogitation, memory, and reflection, is one of the established tenets of the Bramins; indeed, it must necessarily follow, from the supposed metempyschosis of the apostate spirits through these mortal forms; they also believe that every distinct species of the animal creation have a comprehensive mode of communicating their ideas peculiar to themselves, and that the metempsychosis of the delinquent spirits extends through every

organized body, even to the smallest insect and reptile. They highly venerate the bee, and some species of the ant; and conceive the spirits animating these forms to be favoured by God, and that the intellectual faculties are more enlarged under them than in most others. With such tenets we cannot be surprised at their unwillingness to take away the life of any creature whatever.

The devotion of the Hindūs to the Supreme Being, and the inferior deities, consists in regular attendance at the dewals, or temples, especially at the solemn festivals; in performing particular religious ceremonies in their own houses; in prayers, ablutions, fastings and penances; but especially in oblations, which consist chiefly of spices, incense, rice, fruits, and flowers; and although they have been in former times accused of offering human sacrifices, it is certain they now very rarely shed even the blood of an animal in their religious services. I shall not dwell particularly on the religious books of the Hindūs, but it would be injustice to omit the following sublime description of the Supreme Being, from the writings of Governor Holwell, who was an early investigator of these subjects, before the field of oriental literature so laudably engaged the attention of the English. "God is one! Creator of all that is! God is like a perfect sphere, without beginning and without end! God rules and governs all creation by a general providence, resulting from first-determined and fixed principles. Thou shalt not make inquiry into the essence of the Eternal One—nor by what laws he governs. An inquiry into either is vain and criminal. It is enough, that day by day, and night by night, thou seest, in his works, his wisdom, his power, and his mercy:—benefit thereby!" As applicable to this subject, I shall transcribe a few passages from the Vedas of the Hindūs, translated by Sir William Jones; to whose invaluable works we are indebted for so many acquisitions in oriental literature. "By one Supreme Ruler is this universe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man! by abandoning all thoughts of this perishable world; and covet not the wealth of any creature existing." "To those regions where evil spirits dwell, and which utter darkness involves, all such men surely go after death, as destroy the purity of their own souls." "Unveil, O Thou who givest sustenance to the world, that

face of the true sun, which is now hidden by a ray of golden light! so that we may see the truth, and know our whole duty!" "O Thou who givest sustenance to the world, Thou sole mover of all, thou who restrainest sinners, who pervadest yon great luminary, who appearest as the Son of the Creator! hide thy dazzling beams, and expand thy spiritual brightness, that I may view thy most auspicious, most glorious, real form." "Let my soul return to the immortal Spirit of God! and then, let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust!" "O Spirit, who pervadest fire, lead us in a straight path to the riches of beatitude! remove each foul taint from our souls! who approach Thee with the highest praise and the most fixed adoration!" "God, who is perfect wisdom, and perfect happiness, is the final refuge of the man who has liberally bestowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, and who knows and adores the Great One!" "Remember me, O Om, thou divine spirit!" In Sir William Jones's Institutes of the Hindū laws, after stating some blemishes, and a few absurdities in the system, that excellent orientalist observes, "Nevertheless, a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures, pervades the whole work: the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe; the sentiments of dependence of all beings on God, and the harsh admonitions, even to kings, are truly noble; and the many panegyrics on the Gâyatri, the mother, as it is called, of the Vedas, prove the author to have adored (not the visible material sun but) that divine but incomparably greater light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian Scriptures, which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate (not our visual organs merely but our souls, and) our intellects. Whatever opinion, in short, may be formed of Menu and his laws, in a country happily enlightened by sound philosophy and the only true revelation, it must be remembered that those laws are actually revered as the Word of the Most High, by nations of great importance to the political and commercial interests of Europe."*

* Forbes's Oriental Memoirs. Sir W. Jones's Works.

Besides the four principal divisions, the Vursyas and Sudras were subdivided according to their avocations, every man being obliged to follow the trade or profession of his father, nor was it possible for him to alter his destiny, either by exertion of talent, or accumulation of property. The son of a jeweller was destined to be a jeweller, and the son of a husbandman inevitably became a husbandman and nothing else; nor, in remote ages, were the Bramins or Warriors at liberty to leave their respective classes for any other; but the Bramins were afterwards frequently employed as soldiers. No one could become a Bramin, unless born in that high caste. These rules have, with some variations, been preserved down to the present day, and have always exercised a direct influence over all the customs and manners of the Indian nation; as it was necessary to make a great number of laws with regard to the domestic habits of the people, in order to maintain the entire separation of the castes; for it may easily be supposed that, if the people had not been so restricted as to render it impossible for them to change their mode of life without incurring severe penalties, many would have chosen other pursuits than those marked out for them by the accident of birth. Yet the ancient Hindūs are represented as a happy and prosperous nation, living under a mild government, and free from most of the oppressions that usually accompany despotism.

The influence of the Bramins was, in those early times, unbounded, for the kings were enjoined by the laws to select their ministers from among them, to treat them with respect, and to learn from them; and the lands of a Bramin, who died without male heirs, did not devolve on the king, like those of other persons, but were divided among the members of his order. The Bramins were the only physicians, the only judges, and the only teachers; it was deemed impious to act contrary to their will, and refractory princes were sometimes deposed by their authority. Yet they did not obtain this high consideration without much labour and self-denial, for they were obliged to submit to many severe penances, and lead a very austere life, in order to gain a reputation for that superior sanctity which has always been found the surest means of acquiring influence over a half civilized people. Even the Sudras, who, being a servile class, were considered unworthy of sacred instruction, so that all knowledge of the Vedas was

kept from them, were taught to believe that by serving a Bramin faithfully, their souls would pass, after death, into a body of a higher caste; and by that means, they might hope to be admitted to higher privileges in their next state of existence.

The religious rites of the ancient Hindūs were conducted with a degree of magnificence not excelled in any other part of the world. The temples were grand, and the ceremonies, particularly that of sacrificing, were imposing. The festivals were enlivened by music and dancing, and their splendour was generally increased by a gorgeous procession. The ancient religion of the Hindūs was different from that which now exists. One supreme being was worshipped under the name of Brama, and the two gods, Siva and Vishnu, were also held in veneration as separate forms of the Chief Deity. They

Vishnu, Siva. Brama.

were considered as embodying the different attributes of one power, Brama being worshipped as the Creator of all things, Vishnu as the Preserver, and Siva as the Destroyer. The sun, moon, and stars, were also early objects of adoration; as

were likewise the elements, and some of the rivers; among which latter, the Ganges was held the most sacred, and continues to be so to this day. The Bramins taught the doctrine of transmigration, which is still the prevailing faith of the Hindūs, who believe that, between each state of existence upon the earth, they shall pass many thousands of years, either in bliss or pain, among the ever-blooming bowers of beneficent deities, or the gloomy abodes of evil spirits. They believe that Vishnu has already appeared in the world under nine different forms, the last of which was that of the Sage Budha, worshipped by the Chinese, who came upon earth in the fifth century before the Christian era. Siva is represented as a God of Terror, dwelling amidst eternal snows on the summit of the Hemalaya mountains, with his consort, the goddess Devi, to whom many temples in India are dedicated.

The simple religion which, at first, taught the people to adore one divine power as the universal Creator, and other gods merely as personifications of his various attributes, in course of time degenerated into idolatry, by the practice of setting up numerous heroes as objects of adoration, and filling the temples with their images. Among the most celebrated of these were Rama and Crishna, two great warriors, the former supposed to have been the first king of Oude, the latter the first king of Magadha; and both are still worshipped in most parts of India. Each is adored by his votaries as one of the several forms of Vishnu, and the two great epic poems of Ramayuna and Mahabharat, which, together with the sacred books, constitute the chief authorities for the ancient history of India, celebrate the warlike exploits of those renowned heroes of antiquity. Rama was probably a great chief, who, having founded a kingdom in Hindūstan, extended his dominions by conquest, and perhaps invaded the Deckan, then in a state of barbarism, inhabited by the original tribes, who were not of the Hindū race. Many fables are mixed up with the poetical history of Rama; tales are told of his warlike exploits, in which he is celebrated as the conqueror of the king of Ceylon, a terrible giant, who had carried off his queen, and kept her a prisoner in his castle. This the hero stormed, overthrew the giant, and rescued the lady. A festival, which used to be kept with great splendour, is still held every year

in commemoration of this victory; and the character of Rama is so highly reverenced among the Hindūs, that, in their customary salutation on meeting each other, they repeat his name.

But the very character of the gods themselves seems to have been subjected to changes for the worse. The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do; but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindū gods, on the other hand, though with doing with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, weak in their spirit, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours—red, yellow, and blue; some have twelve heads, and most have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive. The same deity is sometimes powerful enough to destroy his enemies with a glance, or to subdue them with a wish; and at other times he is obliged to assemble numerous armies to accomplish his purpose, and is very near failing after all. The powers of the three great gods, Vishnu, Siva, and Brama, are co-equal and unlimited; yet they are exercised with so little harmony, that, in one of their disputes, Siva cuts off one of Brama's heads. Neither is there any regular subordination of the other gods to the three, or to each other. Indra, who is called the King of Heaven, and has been compared to Jupiter, has no authority over any of the rest. With all this there is something in the gigantic scale of the Hindū gods, in the original character of their sentiments and actions, in the peculiar forms in which they are clothed, and in the splendour with which they are surrounded, that does not fail to make a deep impression on the imagination. The most singular anomaly in the Hindū religion, is the power of sacrifices and religious austerities. Through them a religious ascetic can inflict the severest calamities, even on a deity, by his curse; and the most wicked, and most impious of mankind may acquire such an ascendancy over the gods as to render them the passive instruments of his ambition, and even to force them to submit their heavens and themselves to his sovereignty. Indra, on being cursed by a Bramin, was hurled from his own heaven, and compelled to animate the body of a cat. Even Yama, the terrible judge of the dead, is said, in a legend, to have been cursed for an act

done in that capacity, and obliged to undergo a transmigration into the person of a slave.*

The peculiar doctrine of the Hindūs, as is well-known, is transmigration; but they believe that, between their different stages of existence, they will, according to their merits, enjoy thousands of years of happiness in some of the heavens already described, or suffer torments of similar duration in some of their still more numerous hells. Hope, however, seems to be denied to none: the most wicked man, after being purged of his crimes by ages of suffering, and by repeated transmigrations, may ascend in the scale of being, until he may enter into heaven and even attain the highest reward of all the good, which is, incorporation in the essence of God.

Their descriptions of the future states of bliss and penance are spirited and poetical. The good, as soon as they leave the body, proceed to the abode of Yama, through delightful paths, under the shades of fragrant trees, among streams covered with the lotos. Showers of flowers fall on them as they pass; and the air resounds with the hymns of the blessed, and the still more melodious strains of angels. The passage of the wicked is through dark and dismal paths; sometimes over burning sand, sometimes over stones that cut their feet at every step: they travel naked, parched with thirst, covered with dirt and blood, amidst showers of hot ashes and burning coals; they are terrified with frequent and horrible apparitions, and fill the air with their shrieks and wailing.† The hells to which they are ultimately doomed are conceived in the same spirit, and described with a mixture of sublimity and minuteness that almost recalls the "Inferno."

These rewards and punishments are often well apportioned to the moral merits and demerits of the deceased: and they no doubt exercise considerable influence over the conduct of the living. But, on the other hand, the efficacy ascribed to faith, and to the observance of the forms of devotion, and the facility of expiating crimes by penances, are, unfortunately, prevailing characteristics of this religion, and have a strong tendency to weaken its effect in supporting the principles of morality.

Its indirect influence on its votaries is even more injurious

* Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone.

† Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii., p. 374.

than these defects. Its gross superstition debases and debilitates the mind; and its exclusive view to repose in this world, and absorption hereafter, destroys the great stimulants to virtue afforded by love of enterprise and of posthumous fame. Its usurpations over the provinces of law and science tend to keep knowledge fixed at the point to which it had attained at the time of the pretended revelation by the Divinity; and its interference in the minutiæ of private manners extirpates every habit and feeling of free agency, and reduces life to a mechanical routine. When individuals are left free, improvements take place as they are required; and a nation is entirely changed in the course of a few generations without an effort on the part of any of its members; but when religion has interposed, it requires as much boldness to take the smallest step, as to pass over the innovations of a century at a stride; and a man must be equally prepared to renounce his faith and the communion of his friends, whether he merely makes a change in his diet, or embraces a whole body of doctrines, religious and political, at variance with those establishments among his countrymen.

It is within its own limits that it has been least successful in opposing innovation. The original revelation, indeed, has not been questioned; but different degrees of importance have been attached to particular parts of it, and different constructions put on the same passages; and as there is neither a ruling council nor a single head to settle disputed points, and to enforce uniformity in practice, various sects have sprung up, which differ from each other both in their tenets and their practice.

There are three principal sects: the Sáivas (followers of Siva), the Váishnavas (followers of Vishnu), and the Sáktas (followers of some one of the Saktis; that is, the female associates or active powers of the members of the triad).

Each of these sects branches into various subordinate ones, depending on the different characters under which its deity is worshipped, or on the peculiar religious and metaphysical opinions which each has grafted on the parent stock. The Sáktas have three additional divisions of a more general character, depending on the particular goddesses whom they worship. The followers of Dévi, (the spouse of Siva,) however, are out of all comparison more numerous than both the others put together.

Besides the three great sects, there are small ones, which worship Surya and Ganésa respectively; and others which, though perserving the form of Hindūism, appear very near to pure deism.

The Siks (who will be mentioned hereafter) have founded a sect involving such great innovations, that it may almost be regarded as a new religion.

It must not be supposed that every Hindū belongs to one or other of the above sects. They, on the contrary, are alone reckoned orthodox, who profess a comprehensive system opposed to the exclusive worship of particular divinities, and who draw their ritual from the Védas, Puránas, and other sacred books, rejecting the ceremonies derived from other sources. To this class the apparent mass of the Braminical order, at least, still belongs. But probably, even among them all but the more philosophic religionists have a bias to one or the other of the contending divinities; and the same may be said more decidedly of all such of the lower castes as are not careless of everything beyond the requisite ritual observances. It has been remarked that incarnations of Vishnu are the principal objects of popular predilection. In all Bengal and Hindūstan it is to those incarnations that the religious feelings of the people are directed; and though the temples and emblems of Siva are very common, the worshippers are few, and seem inspired with little veneration.

Siva, it appears, has always been the patron god of the Bramin class, but has never much excited the imaginations of the people. Even where his sect ostensibly prevails, the great body of the inhabitants are much more attracted by the human feelings and interesting adventure of Ráma and Crishna. The first of the two is the great object of devotion (with the regular orders at least) on the banks of the Jumna and the north-western part of the Ganges; but Crishna prevails, in his turn, along the lower course of the Ganges, and all the centre and west of Hindūstan. Ráma, however, is every where revered; and his name, twice repeated, is the ordinary salutation among all classes of Hindūs.*

This copious subject has been recently illustrated by many learned writers, both German and English, into whose works

* Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone, 'Hist. Ind.'

we cannot well enter in a compendium like the present. The subject will always claim attention, for the Hindū religion, Buddhism, and Mahometanism are the three great faiths of the eastern world, and exercise a vast influence over a very vast portion of the human race.

As a general rule it may be admitted that the common people believe in the existence of a congeries of inferior deities, which, like the divinities of the Greeks and Romans, are represented under different forms, and with symbols expressing their different qualities and attributes. This host of inferior gods and goddesses overshadows and keeps out of sight the three great divinities. Obscene ceremonies and rituals marked with blood and the sacrifice of human beings have been inducted in the Hindū system of worship. But these things are clearly excrescences. In their most ancient books the rules of morality are frequently good, pure and benevolent. Hospitality and charity are strongly inculcated. "Exercise hospitality even towards thine enemy when he cometh to thine house: the tree does not withdraw its shade even from the poor woodcutter."

"Good men extend their charity unto the vilest creatures. The moon does not withhold her light even from the cottage of the Chandala."*

"Is this one of us, or is he a stranger?—Such is the reason of the ungenerous: but to those, by whom liberality is practised, the whole world is but as one family."

Some of their injunctions breathe a high manly spirit.

"Let not thy life be spent in inaction. Man was made to be doing. Perform thy duty and abandon all thought of the consequence. The mean-spirited and unhappy are unhappy about the events of things; but men, who are endued with true wisdom, do their duty and are unmindful of events."

"He is my beloved, of whom mankind is not afraid, and who is not afraid of mankind; who is unsolicitous about events; to whom praise and blame are as one; who is of little speech; who is pleased with whatever cometh to pass; who is not tied to any particular home but lives in all the world, and is of a firm mind."

"They who delight in the works of nature and in the welfare of all their fellow-men, best serve the incorruptible, in-

* Pariah, outcast.

effable, invisible, incomprehensible Omnipotent Spirit; and such shall come in the end of things to immortal joy and unmingled bliss."*

According to the rules of their religion the Hindūs ought to pray thrice in a day—in the morning, at noon, and in the evening—with their faces turned towards the East. They should at the same time perform their ablutions, and when they have an opportunity, should prefer a running stream to standing water. It is an indispensable duty to wash themselves before meals.

Their offerings generally consist of money, fruits, flowers, rice, spices made at the temples, and incense. The offering on account of the dead is a cake, called Peenda, which ceremony is performed on the days of the new and full moon.

At the hours of public worship the people resort to the temples. They begin by performing the ablutions at the tank, which is either to be found in front of the building, or, in the great temples, in the centre of the first court. Leaving their slippers or sandals on the border of the tanks, they are admitted to a peristyle or vestibule, opposite to the building which contains the idols, where they observe great reverence and devotion; and whilst the Bramins perform the ceremonies of the Jug or Pooja, the dancing women occasionally dance in the court, singing the praises of the divinity to the sounds of various musical instruments.

The Pooja may likewise be performed at home before the household images. Those who are to assist at it begin by washing themselves. They likewise wash the room or place destined for the ceremony, and then spread it with a new mat or with a carpet that is only used for that purpose. On this they place the Sing Asin † or throne, which is generally made of wood richly carved and gilt, though sometimes of gold and silver. The idol being put on the Sing Asin, the things necessary for the Pooja are laid upon the mat, consisting of a bell of metal; a conch shell to blow on; a censer filled with

* 'Sketches chiefly relating to the History, Religion, Learning, and Manners of the Hindūs;' 1 vol., 8vo., London, 1790. This anonymous volume was much prized by the great Warren Hastings, who had covered the margins of a copy of it with curious notes.

† *Sing* is literally lion, but is a term of distinction given to princes and great men.

ral, bezoin, sugar, and other articles, which is kept constantly burning, pieces of bezoin and ral being now and then thrown into it. Flowers separately and in garlands are scattered upon the mat. The idol is put into a metal basin, and being washed by pouring the water first on the head, is wiped and replaced on the Sing Asin. Cups or plates of gold, silver, or other metals are spread before it, some filled with rice, others with different sorts of fruits, with dry sweetmeats and with cow's milk. The worshippers repeat certain prayers and Ashlocks, or verses in praise of the god whom the idol represents.

The Bramin who performs the ceremony, occasionally rings the bells and blows the shell. He gives the tiluk, or mark on the forehead to the idol, by dipping his right thumb in the dust of sandal-wood or other substance that has been prepared for that purpose, beginning at the top of the nose and advancing upwards. But the colour, the size, and shape of the tiluk depend on the tribe the worshippers may be of; some tribes being marked with vermilion, others with turmeric, and some with a kind of white earth called chalk. A Bramin generally marks all the persons present in the same manner. The fruit and other articles of food that were spread before the idol, are divided amongst them; and the idol is then carefully wrapped up, and with the Sing Asin and the rest of the things used in the ceremony, kept in a secure place until another Pooja be performed.

According to rule the four angles of the temple ought to face the four cardinal points. Some of the temples are of an oblong figure and consist of two or more courts one behind the others. Some have only one enclosure with the chapel, where images are placed in the centre of it. We believe that a temple is never found without a tank for the ablutions of the worshippers or without some tope or small grove of trees; many of them are exceedingly picturesque. The groves afford most welcome shelter to the heated and wearied traveller. In addition to the tank, there is very frequently a white marble fountain, in style not dissimilar to those erected in Spain by the tasteful Moors. Pictures have often been painted of the striking scene presented at the hour of morning prayer, when the worshippers throng to the tank, and pour the water over their heads.

A veneration for the sun, and for fire as one of its essences,

seems to have been common to nearly all the ancient eastern nations. Every day at sunrise the Hindū priests go to some river or to the tank of a temple, to perform the Sandivanè or worship to Brama the Supreme. After having washed themselves they take water in the palm of the right hand, and throw it in the air before and behind them, invoking the Deity, and chanting thanksgiving and praise. They then throw some water towards the sun, expressing their gratitude for his having again appeared to dispel the darkness of night. These priests are also enjoined to light up a fire at certain times, which must be produced by the friction of two pieces of wood of a particular kind. With fire thus procured, all their sacrifices are burnt, the nuptial altar flames, and the funeral pile is kindled.

In one of their books it is written, "Fire is the superior of the Bramin, the Bramin is the superior of the tribes, the husband is the superior of the wife, but the stranger is the superior of all."*

As there were, in very early times, several independent states established in Hindūstan, under the dominion of kings or rajas, all governed by the same laws, and subject to the same institutions, it is reasonable to suppose that the Bramins who made the laws, also took some part in the founding of the kingdoms, and helped to set up kings in them, still retaining in their own hands the greatest share of authority. Each kingdom was divided into military districts, every district being protected by a body of stationary troops, whose services were frequently in requisition against the neighbouring princes. Some of the earliest states established in the Deckan were possessed by the Bramins, and ruled by an assembly of that sacred order, the chief ruler being elected every three years; but, in course of time, they transferred the government to a military chief, still retaining the lands, which they let to men of the agricultural class, who were settled in colonies, under the same regulations as in Hindūstan.

The most interesting feature of the Hindū government, and the most important next to that of the institution of castes, was the establishment of townships, or village communities, which exist at the present day, in many parts of India, nearly

* Sketches of the Hindūs.

in the same state as they did in ancient times. From the nature of the townships, it may be supposed that, when the people were separated into classes, the husbandmen were settled in villages, to each of which was attached a certain extent of land, to be cultivated by that community, every family taking an equal portion. They were not placed there as vassals to toil for a feudal master, but were, for the most part, freemen, and paid rents for their lands, amounting to about one-fourth of the produce collected by the headman, or chief of the village, appointed in those days by a superior, but whose office afterwards became hereditary. There seems at that period to have existed a sort of feudal system, since there were lords of large territories answering to feudal fiefs, containing a thousand townships, who held supremacy over the lords of one hundred villages, subordinate to whom were the governors of ten villages, and these latter rulers appointed the headmen. The many revolutions that have taken place in the country at various times, have occasioned great alterations in this system, but every village has still its headman, and many of them are yet in the same state of happy simplicity which distinguished them in former days.

It is not exactly known by what tenure lands were held in India, or who were the actual proprietors of the soil. The kings were ostensibly the owners of all land within their dominions, except that belonging to the priests, and certainly derived a revenue from them; but it is supposed that, in many instances, other persons became the proprietors, by paying a fixed sum annually to the government, and receiving the rents for themselves of the farmers or ryots; but whether the latter ever were the owners of the fields they cultivated, seems a matter of uncertainty. They enjoyed, however, most of the advantages of landowners, for they were left in possession of three-fourths of the produce of their labour, and their farms descended to their children, being equally divided amongst the sons, who were bound to maintain their sisters as long as they remained unmarried.

The husbandmen never lived in isolated farms, but associated together in a village, which was sometimes surrounded by a wall, and defended by a little citadel; sometimes enclosed only by a fence for the protection of the cattle at night. The headman was looked up to as the father of the village, who

regulated all its affairs, and administered justice in the manner of the ancient patriarchs, holding his simple court under a tree.

Village lands were parcelled out in a peculiar manner, being first divided into different qualities, some parts being more fertile than others, and not adapted for the same kind of produce; therefore every farmer took a fair share of the inferior with the good; and thus no one had greater advantages than another. The principal objects of cultivation were cotton, sugar, spices, corn, rice, and various other sorts of grain; the first of these productions supplying the material for the chief manufactures of the Indians, which were calicoes and muslins, famous in ancient as well as modern times for the beauty of their texture, and universally worn by both sexes.

The government of the aborigines, who are now so scattered, was and is patriarchal: the civil institutions of the Hindūs are all municipal. It is very incorrect to say (as frequently has been done) that slavery was unknown. Predial slavery was known and enforced in nearly every part of India, and obtains still in spite of the acts and denunciations of the British government. Such of the aborigines as were not destroyed or driven to the mountains and wildernesses, were forced to labour for their Hindū conquerors. In many places they are still serfs of the soil; in others, they hold lands for the use of which they pay heavy rents to the Hindū lords. They claim, however, to be the real proprietors of the land, and they remind each other of this right in the following distich:

"Bhág-rá dhani Ráj ho,
Bhúm-rá dhani Máj ho."

"The Raja is proprietor of his share:
I am the proprietor of the land."

"The Hindū legislator Menu has not left us in doubt what was ordained to be the fate of the subdued race, nor the relation they were doomed for ever to bear with regard to their conquerors. In chapter X. of the Institutes, it is ordained that—1. Their abode must be out of towns. 2. Their sole property is to consist of dogs and asses. 3. Their clothes should be those left by the dead. 4. Their ornaments rusty iron. 5. They must roam from place to place. 6. No re-

spectable man must hold intercourse with them. 7. They are to perform the office of executioner on all criminals condemned to death by the King. For this duty, they may retain the bedding, the clothes, and the ornaments of those executed. Their condition is, in every case, one of perpetual slavery. In chapter VIII. Menu says :—' The Chandala, or impure, can never be relieved from bondage, though he be emancipated by a master. How can he, whom God has destined to be the slave of Bramins, ever be released from his destiny by man?' "*

From a very early date, the Hindūs have been in the habit of importing slaves from foreign countries. Their Mussulman conquerors, who never could understand that society could exist without slaves, greatly extended this practice.

Perhaps no where is the municipal spirit stronger than among the Hindūs. It has kept communities together which, but for it, would have been scattered centuries ago. Each township conducts its own internal affairs. It levies on its members the revenue due to the state, and is responsible for the payment of the full amount; it manages its own police, and is answerable for any property plundered within its limits. It administers justice to its own members, as far as punishing small offences, and deciding disputes in the first instance. It taxes itself for the repairs of the roads, walls, and temples, for the expenses of public sacrifices, charities, etc. It is provided with the requisite officers for conducting all these duties, and with various others adapted to the wants of the inhabitants; and, though entirely subject to the general government, is in many respects an organized commonwealth, complete within itself.†

In a very eloquent Minute of Council, the late Sir Charles Metcalf said :—" The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindū, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but

* Two Lectures on the aboriginal race of India as distinguished from the Sanskritic or Hindū race'; by Lieut.-General Briggs, F.R.S., (delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society, 8th May and 19th June, 1852.)

† Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone, 'Hist. Ind.'

the village community remains the same. In time of trouble, they arm and fortify themselves: an hostile army passes through the country, the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but, when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out; for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, as I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."*

These important facts are unknown or disregarded by those who glibly talk or write about Oriental despotisms and the despotism of our East India Company. The facts, however, remain: the Hindūs are a self-governing people, and enjoy a very great share of internal liberty. It is not merely the attachment to soil that operates so forcibly and so lastingly upon them, it is still more the attachment to ancient municipal rights and usages.

It is to be noticed, as interesting, that every community has its minstrel, who recites poems and composes verses. The minstrel moreover occupies the important post of genealogist—and the widely extended *entail* of all property in India, and

* Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, vol. iii., Appendix.

the complicated restrictions on the intermarriage of families, render the business of a genealogist of much more serious concern in that country than it is with us.

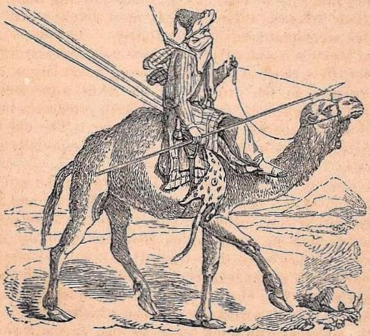
Every village officer has his fees, sometimes in money, but more frequently in a portion of the produce of the farmers.

In early times the male costume of all ranks consisted of two long pieces of white or chintz cotton—one wrapped round the waist, and hanging down below the knee; the other thrown across the shoulders, and occasionally over the head. The legs were bare, and very often the feet also, but most men had embroidered slippers turned up at the points, which they put on when they went out. They wore long beards, which they dyed with henna or indigo, with the intention of making them red or black, according to fancy; but mistakes sometimes occurred in the operation, by which they were turned green or blue; and thus we read of the Indians dyeing their beards of various colours, although it is most likely some of the varieties were produced unintentionally. The dress of the women also was composed of two shapeless garments, differing, however, from those of the men, in being much larger, so that they reached to the ground. Both sexes wore necklaces, earrings, and bracelets, the value of such ornaments depending, of course, upon the rank of the wearer. The old Hindū dress is still worn in many parts of India, especially by the Bramins.

The state of female society in India during the early ages affords one of the best proofs of the civilization and liberal government of the ancient Hindūs. Women were not condemned to live in seclusion as they are in other Asiatic countries, neither were they treated as inferiors; one great reason of which might be that the Hindūs did not give money for their wives, like the Egyptians and Chinese; but, on the contrary, received portions with them, which placed them on more equal terms with their husbands than in countries where they were in a manner purchased of their parents. They could hold property, and the fortune which a woman brought to her husband was always inherited by her daughters, and was secured to them by the laws of Menu, which expressly stated that the king should be the guardian of all widows and unmarried women, and it was his duty to take care that their property should be protected from any encroachment. This law

is referred to as a proof that the revolting custom afterwards practised by widows of burning themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands, was unknown at the period when the code was composed; so that the odium of that barbarous rite does not rest with the early legislators, who, on the contrary, guarded the widowed female from oppression, and allowed her to contract a second marriage.

The commerce of India flourished at a very remote period, when it was carried on overland, chiefly with the Egyptians, who, for security, formed themselves into those large bodies called caravans, made laws for themselves, and chose officers to govern them on their journey. Providence had furnished them with an animal capable of carrying burthens across the hot sandy deserts—the camel.



As a commercial country, India has, from the earliest ages, been an object of attention, and, on account of its wealth, of military depredation. In the time of Darius Hystaspes, who gained possession of a small part adjoining his own dominions, the conquered territory formed the richest portion of the Persian empire.

It was more than a century before the Greek invasion, that Budha, the great reformer of the Braminical religion, appeared in India, where he devoted his life to the instruction of the people, and the introduction of a new system, with a view of lessening the power of the Bramins; a task he endeavoured to accomplish by denying the authority of the Vedas, and not admitting distinctions of caste. This celebrated sage, who was the son of some obscure Indian prince (most probably of the island of Ceylon), and whose real name was Gotama, is worshipped by his votaries as Vishnu in his ninth earthly form. Both Bramins and Budhists inculcated the doctrine of transmigration, and therefore interdicted the use of animal food, and the destruction of animal life, except for sacrifice.

The Budhist priests lived in communities, and were forbidden to marry; whereas the Bramins had no monasteries, and were enjoined to take wives, whom they usually chose from their own caste, although they were not prohibited from forming alliances with the daughters of outcasts; for a Hindoo, of any grade, might choose a wife from an inferior, but not from a superior caste.

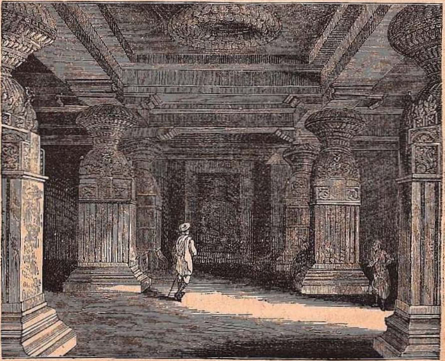
The religion of the Budhists, and that of the Jains, resemble each other, and both resemble the Bramin doctrines in their character of quietism, in their tenderness of animal life, and in the belief of repeated transmigrations, of various hells for the purification of the wicked, and heavens for the solace of the good.

Even at this day the Budhists have no castes. Their priests are taken from all classes of the community, and bear a much greater resemblance to European monks than to any of the Hindū ministers of religion. They live in monasteries, wear a uniform yellow dress, go with their feet bare, and their heads and beards shaved. They perform, in a body, a constant succession of regular service; and, in their processions, their chanting, their incense, and their candles, bear a strong resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. They are strictly bound to celibacy, and renounce most of the pleasures of sense. These religionists carry their respect for animal life much farther than the Bramins. Their priests do not eat after the hour of noon, nor drink after dark, for fear of swallowing minute insects; and they carry a brush on all occasions, with which they carefully sweep every place before

they sit down, lest they should inadvertently crush any living creature. They differ from the Bramins in their want of respect for fire, and in their veneration for relics of their holy men; a feeling quite unknown to the Hindūs. Over these relics (a few hairs, a bone, or a tooth), the Budhists erect those solid cupolas, or bell-shaped monuments, which are often of stupendous size, and which are so great a characteristic of their religion.*

In many respects this new or modified faith changed the aspect of the country and the habits of the people. But Budhism was not destined to take upon India the hold which it has secured in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, Cochin China, China, Tartary, Thibet, Japan, and other countries.

The Budhists excavated temples in the rocks, some of which



Budhist Temple.

are among the most interesting antiquities of India. The caves of Ellora, which are about two hundred miles to the east of Bombay, consist of a great number of large and lofty

* For further particulars relating to Budhism, see Appendix A.

apartments, decorated with columns and statues; and there is also an extensive excavated temple at Carlee, between Bombay and Puna, which resembles a Gothic church, having a vaulted roof, and colonnades running like aisles along each side. The principal monuments of ancient Hindū opulence and superstition are found in the Deckan; for, although the northern part of India was earlier and more highly civilised, it was repeatedly ravaged, and many of the finest specimens of native art destroyed, by the Mahommedans, long before they found their way across the Vindya mountains.

We quote the accounts of Salsette and Elephanta from the valuable work of Forbes, whose plain and simple descriptions have not been surpassed or even equalled by any more recent writer. They bring these stupendous specimens of cavern architecture before the eyes, and, as it were, under the touch of the reader.

"This stupendous work (at Salsette) is upwards of ninety feet long, thirty-eight wide, and of a proportionable height, hewn out of the solid rock, and forming an oblong square, with a fluted concave roof; the area is divided into three aisles by regular colonnades, similar to the ancient basilica, a pile of building twice as long as it was wide, with one of the extremities terminating in a hemicycle; two rows of columns formed a spacious area in the centre, leaving a narrow walk between the columns and the wall. The largest excavation at Salsette appears intended for a place of worship; towards the termination of the temple, fronting the entrance, is a circular pile of solid rock, nineteen feet high, and forty-eight in circumference, most probably a representation of the lingam, the symbol of Siva. There are no images in this temple, nor any kind of sculpture except on the capitals of the pillars, which are generally finished in a masterly style, and are little impaired by time; many have been left in an unfinished state; on the summit of others is something like a bell, between elephants, horses, lions, and animals of different kinds.

"The lofty pillars and concave roof of the principal temple at Salsette present a much grander appearance than the largest excavation at the Elephanta, although that is much richer in statues and basso-relievi than any of those on Salsette. The portico at Salsette, of the same height and breadth as the temple, is richly decorated; on each side a large niche contains

a colossal statue well executed; facing the entrance are small figures and groups in various attitudes, the whole in good preservation. The outer front of the portico and the area before it, corresponding in grandeur with the interior, are now injured by time, and the mouldering sculpture intermingled with clematis and a variety of rock plants. We copied several lines from the long inscriptions on the square pillars at the entrance; the characters were obsolete, and had not been deciphered when I left India.

"The following are the exact dimensions of the large temple, or principal excavation at Salsette:—length of the interior, ninety-one feet six inches; breadth, thirty-eight feet; depth of the portico, twelve feet; portico wall or support of rock, five feet; front wall or support of rock, three feet; area, twenty eight feet; outer wall or support of rock, two feet eight inches; the length of the whole temple, portico and area leading to it, is one hundred and forty-two feet two inches.

"After remaining some hours in the large temple, we proceeded further up the mountain by a flight of steps hewn in the rock, and continued to the summit. By various intricate paths they lead to smaller excavations, most of which consist of two rooms, a portico, and benches, cut in the rock; to each is annexed a cistern of water of about three cubic feet also hewn in the rock for the preservation of rain water, which we found very cool and grateful after a sultry walk.

"Some of these excavations are larger and better finished than others; a few in their general effect resemble the principal temple, though inferior in size and decoration. The whole appearance of this excavated mountain indicates it to have had a city hewn in its rocky sides, capable of containing many thousand inhabitants; the largest temple was doubtless their principal place of worship; the smaller, on the same plan, inferior dewals; the rest were appropriated as dwellings for the inhabitants, differing in size and accommodation according to their respective ranks in society; or, as is still more probable, these habitations were the abode of religious Bramins and their pupils, when India was the nurse of art and science, and the nations of Europe were involved in ignorance and barbarism.

"The summit of this wonderful mountain commands an extensive view; the island of Salsette appears like a map

around the spectator, presenting a fine champaign of rice-fields, cocoa-groves, villages and cattle, woody hills and fertile vales; the surrounding mountains form a foreground of grey rocks, covered with trees, or hollowed into gloomy caverns, the haunt of tigers, serpents, bats, and bees, in immense swarms; the horizon is bounded on the south by the island of Bombay with the harbour and shipping, east by the continent, north by Bassein and the adjacent mountains, and west by the ocean. In various parts of Salsette are romantic views, embellished by the ruins of Portuguese churches, convents, and villas; once large and splendid, but suffered to decay since the Mahrattas conquered the island.

"The enjoyment of the picturesque and fertile scenery of Salsette is interrupted by the tigers which infest the mountains and descend to the plains: they not only prey upon the sheep and oxen near the villages, but sometimes carry off the human species. During our short stay a poor woman, gathering fuel on the skirts of a wood, laid her infant on the grass, when a tiger sprung from the cover and carried it to his den, in the sight of the wretched mother!

* * * * * *

"The island of Elephanta, about two leagues from Bombay, does not exceed three miles in circumference; consisting of two rocky mountains, covered with trees and brush-wood, and a small valley of rice-fields, cultivated by a few Hindoo farmers. Near the landing-place is the figure of an elephant, the size of life, shaped out of a rock, which probably gave its name to the island; that by which the natives distinguished it being very different.

"Ascending the mountains by a narrow path winding among rocks, trees, and underwood, we arrive at the excavation, which has long excited the attention of the curious, and afforded ample scope for the discussion of antiquaries. The principal temple and adjoining apartments are 220 feet long and 150 broad; in these dimensions exceeding the largest work at Salsette, but being very inferior in height, notwithstanding the numerous and richer decorations at the Elephanta, the spectator is constantly reminded of being in a cave; at Salsette, the lofty concave roof and noble columns have a majestic appearance. Yet the observer feels more surprise

and admiration at the Elephanta than at Salsette; he beholds four rows of massive columns cut out of the solid rock, uniform in their order, and placed at regular distances, so as to form three magnificent avenues from the principal entrance to the grand idol which terminates the middle vista; the general effect being heightened by the blueness of the light, or rather gloom, peculiar to the situation. The central image is composed of three colossal heads, reaching nearly from the floor to the roof, a height of fifteen feet: it represents the triad deity in the Hindū mythology, Brama, Vishnu, and Siva, in the characters of the creator, preserver, and destroyer. The middle face displays regular features and a mild and serene character; the towering head-dress is much ornamented, as are those on each side, which appear in profile, lofty and richly adorned with jewels. The countenance of Vishnu has the same mild aspect as Brama; the visage of Siva is very different; severity and revenge, characteristic of his destroying attribute, are strongly depicted; one of the hands embraces a large cobra de capello, while the others contain fruit, flowers, and blessings for mankind; the lotos and pomegranate are easily distinguished. The lotos, so often introduced into the Hindū mythology, forms a principal object in the sculpture and paintings in their temples, is the ornament of their sacred lakes, and the most conspicuous beauty in their flowery sacrifices. Whether the *Bali-putras* or *Palibothra* kings, mentioned in Alexander's invasion of India, were the same with the more ancient dynasty of *Bali-putra*, or *Patali-putra*, is, perhaps, not yet determined; but the Bhagavata mentions one of the titles of Maha-Bali, the founder of that dynasty, to have been *Maha-padma*, *Pati-Nanda*, the '*Great Lord of the Lotos*.'

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"On either side of the Elephanta triad is a gigantic figure leaning on a dwarf, an object frequently introduced in these excavations. The giants guard the triple deity, and separate it from a large recess filled with a variety of figures, male and female, in different attitudes; they are in tolerable proportion, but express no particular character of countenance: one conspicuous female, like the Amazons, is single-breasted; the rest, whether intended for goddesses or mortals, are generally

adorned, like the modern Hindū women, with bracelets, and rings for the ankles; the men have bracelets only. The intervening space between these large figures is occupied by small aërial beings, hovering about them in infinite variety. I know not whether I am correct in saying the larger images in these groups are in alto-relievo, brought sufficiently forward from the rock to produce a good effect.

"The sides of the temple are adorned with similar compositions, placed at regular distances, and terminating the avenues formed by the colonnades, so that only one group is seen at a time, except on a near approach; the regularity and proportion of the whole are remarkably striking. The figures are generally in graceful attitudes, but those of Herculean stature indicate no muscular strength.

"Among many thousand figures, few of the countenances express any particular passion, or mark a decided character; they have generally a sleepy aspect, and bear a greater resemblance to the tame sculpture of Egypt, than the animated works of the Grecian chisel.

"The columns at Elephanta are of a singular shape, and in all respects differ from the beautiful orders of ancient Greece: the shafts are massive in proportion to their height; the large capitals, swelling over the ornaments, give the appearance of pressure by the superincumbent mountain; a form appropriate to their function in this wonderful work.

"From the right and left avenues of the principal temple, are passages to smaller excavations on each side; that on the right is much decayed, and very little of the sculpture remains entire; a pool of water penetrates from it into a dark cavern far under the rock; whether natural or artificial is not determined. A small corresponding temple on the left side contains two baths, one of them elegantly finished: the front is open, and the roof supported by pillars of a different order from those in the large temple; the sides are adorned with sculpture, and the roof and cornice painted in mosaic patterns; some of the colours are still bright. The opposite bath, of the same proportions, is less ornamented; between them, a room detached from a rock, contains a colossal representation of the lingam. Several small caves branch out from the grand excavations.

"I remained, on one occasion, four days at the Isle of

Elephanta, and paid more than one visit to the sculptured mountains of Canara, sketching the most striking features of these wonderful works. I once accompanied an eminent English artist on his first visit to Elephanta; he had seen the most striking objects of art in Italy and Greece, but never anything which filled his mind with such extraordinary sensations as to the general effect.

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"However these gigantic statues, and others of similar form, in the caves of Ellora and Salsette, may astonish a common observer, the man of taste looks in vain for proportion of form and expression of countenance.

"The Elephanta caves especially cause admiration, when we contemplate the immensity of the undertaking, the number of artificers employed, and the extraordinary genius of its first projector, in a country until lately accounted rude and barbarous by the now enlightened nations of Europe. It is a work which would be admired by the curious, had it been raised from a foundation like other structures; but when we consider it is hewn inch by inch in the hard and solid rock, we cannot but be astonished at the conception and completion of the undertaking.

"I am far from advocating the cause of Hindūism: but I confess that a view of these excavations has often caused pious meditation, and filled my mind with awe, though I was surrounded by idols."*

* 'Oriental Memoirs,' first edition, London, 1810.

INVASION OF THE GREEKS.

INDIA for a long time was very little known to the Greeks, yet the Father of History, whose curiosity and research were unbounded, certainly acquired some information respecting the two races of conquerors and conquered who occupied the country in the fifth century before the Christian era. He says,—"We have little information regarding the people of the East. What we do know of them amounts to this, that the Indians nearest to Persia inhabit the great desert, and are composed of many tribes speaking various dialects. They consist of pastoral tribes, and others who dwell in the marshes of rivers, subsisting principally on raw fish, which they take from boats constructed of bamboos. Their only clothing is of matting made out of rushes. They also raise some coarse millet, which they boil in the husk for food. The fishing tribe bears the name of *Padœi*. More remote from Persia, and farther north, there are Indians who dwell in cities whose habits assimilate to those who inhabit the regions of Bactriana. These Indians pay annual tribute in gold to Darius."*

"Those," says General Briggs, "who have seen the lower classes in India in modern times, without clothing, and their mat-hoods to keep off the rain, on all the great rivers, and on the sea-coast, will at once recognise in them the fishing tribes of Herodotus on the Indus."†

In the fourth century before the Christian era, Alexander the Great, having overrun the whole extent of the Persian empire, led his conquering armies to the shores of the Indus, and occupied part of the extensive country watered by the branches of that river, and called the Panjab.

Hindūstan contained at that period three large kingdoms, besides a great number of petty states. The chief kingdom was

* Herodotus, 'Thalia,' book iii. chap. 98.
† Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India.

that of the Prasii, which occupied the greater part of that immense plain through which the mighty Ganges takes its course. The capital of this empire was Palibothra, described by the Greeks as a magnificent city, eight miles in length, surrounded by a wall, with sixty-four gates, and fortified with more than five hundred towers. The modern city of Patna now stands on or near its site. The other large kingdoms occupied nearly the whole of the Panjab, and were ruled by the rival princes, Porus and Taxiles, the former of whom, after being subdued by Alexander, became the friend of that monarch, and assisted him to extend his conquests. The Indians used war chariots and elephants in battle. They wore armour, and their weapons were spears, long pikes, bows and arrows, the latter six feet in length.

Porus first met the Greeks on the banks of the Hydaspes, the western boundary of his dominions, where he was defeated, and retired from the field severely wounded; but being pursued and brought before the conqueror, he conducted himself with so much dignity under his misfortunes, that Alexander seems to have been struck with admiration, and to have desired to display his own magnanimity to so great a prince, since he gave him back his kingdom, and requested his friendship, which the noble Indian did not withhold; and these illustrious allies conquered some of the smaller states, which were added to the dominions of Porus. Alexander made no permanent conquests in India, but he built a fort and constructed a harbour, at Pattala, on the banks of the Indus, supposed to be the modern Tatta, which became the seat of a considerable trade.

But the name of the Macedonian conqueror is still famed in India, and in the country of the Afghans. At Candahar, where he halted for a time, when on his march from Persia, it is the custom, to this day, for a Mollah or Mahometan priest to read in the public place or square the exploits of Iskander the Great. Alexander did not go farther than to the banks of the Hyphasis. "Here was the boundary of that victorious progress to which scarcely any other history offers a parallel. More than 2000 years after this memorable halt of the Macedonian, General Lord Lake carried a small British army victoriously from Bengal to the Hyphasis, and halted on the opposite bank; and there the British standard waved ma-

jestically, and the British troops eyed themselves in the same clear mirror which had reflected the Macedonian phalanges."*

Having erected twelve massy altars as a memorial, Alexander turned back from the inauspicious gods of India, giving up his bold plan of a further advance, and commencing his return into Persia. Having sailed down the Indus to its confluence with the ocean, and having established a naval station, he boldly resolved to send his fleet on a voyage along the coast towards the Persian Gulf, in order that he might increase his geographical knowledge, and settle the means of a great commercial intercourse between India and the nations of the West. Nearchus, a very accomplished Greek, was appointed to the command of the fleet. He kept a sort of journal, and afterwards wrote out an account of the whole voyage, which Arrian, Alexander's historian, incorporated in his own great work.

It was a glorious voyage, and undertaken for a glorious object—the extension of commerce, and the easier intercourse of distant nations and races of men. Alexander had boasted that he would open the world to men, and in various means he did much before his premature death to realize this grand scheme. The veil which had covered India was at least in part withdrawn. He and the Macedonians of his army had obtained a practical knowledge of the Indus, and some good hearsay knowledge of the Ganges; they learned where the centre and real seat of the empire was; they acquired intelligence of all the grand and leading features of Indian manners, policy, and religion; they discovered all this in their pursuit of conquests, and by penetrating through sterile or difficult countries where, in all probability, no Greek, no European, had previously set his foot; and they explored the passage by sea, which first opened the commercial intercourse with India, and the countries beyond it, to the Greeks and Romans through the medium of Egypt and the Red Sea. For many ages but very slight additions were made to the information obtained by these Greeks. The voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates is to be considered as the first grand authenticated event in the history of navigation; and his own well-preserved narrative of it, considering the time, the novelty of most of the scenes, and

* Charles Mac Farlane, 'Our Indian Empire.'

the lively and exaggerative imagination common to his race, is wonderfully free from romance and fable.

Onesicritus of Egina went with the Macedonian army to the East, and was sent by Alexander on an embassy to the Indian gymnosophists. He appears to have penetrated far into the country, and to have resided some time among the Hindūs and their Bramins. From his own travels, or from the reports of natives, he obtained some knowledge of the Malabar coast and the great island of Ceylon. He was the first to mention that island under its ancient and long preserved name of Taprobane, and he assigned to it dimensions more correct than those that were given to it by Ptolemy 400 years after, and when fleets had annually been going thither from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The advanced state of Hindū civilisation at this period, although it had not reached so high a point as was imagined until some errors had been dispelled by modern researches, was manifested by the great public works met with by the invaders in various parts of Hindūstan, the most useful of which were excellent roads, furnished with mile-stones, and houses of entertainment for travellers. When a king made a journey, he travelled in great state, with numerous guards and attendants, accompanied usually by the queen, and a train of females belonging to the court. He was carried in a palanquin on the back of an elephant, or rode in a chariot drawn by oxen. Over the head of the sovereign was borne a white umbrella, which, together with golden slippers, formed the insignia of royalty; while all the nobles had umbrellas of various colours carried over them.

All the elephants in the country were considered the property of the monarch within whose dominions they were found; and as these noble animals were generally trained to war, and always employed to increase the magnificence of religious and state processions, the power and grandeur of a monarch was often estimated by the number of elephants he possessed, as he was almost sure to have a corresponding number of horses and chariots. The elephant is found in the vast forests both of Hindūstan and the Deckan; the camel, too, is an inhabitant of some parts of the country, particularly near the shores of the Indus; and the tiger is well known as a native of Bengal.

All the Eastern nations have, from time immemorial, been fond of gorgeous display, a taste which none have had more ample means of indulging than the Indians, who, in all ages, have procured abundance of riches, by supplying other countries with the luxurious productions of their own. Their spices and perfumes were inexhaustible sources of wealth, while the diamond mines of Golconda and Visiapour have always been celebrated. It seems doubtful whether silk was a native production of India, but it is not mentioned as an article of wearing apparel, as the state dresses of princes were muslin, embroidered with gold, and cotton was the staple commodity of the country. Silk, however, was cultivated and manufactured probably before the Christian era, though not to a great extent.

The principal food of the people consisted of fruits, and different sorts of grain and milk. It was customary for the rich to plant orchards and construct ponds for the public benefit; but although the trees frequently produced two crops in the year, and the farmers reaped two harvests from their fields, the miseries of famine were sometimes experienced, in consequence of the failure of the periodical rains, which generally fall for about four months, causing the rivers to overflow the country, which, by that means, is rendered fertile.

On quitting India, Alexander left a part of his army in Bactria or Balkh, a country between India and Persia. Seleucus Nicator, one of the great Greek captains who divided among them the splendid heritage or empire left by Alexander, possessed himself of Bactria, and established there a

dynasty which endured with more or less power for the space of three centuries. There is reason to suppose, from recent discoveries, that at one period of its existence this kingdom extended over all the country that is now comprised within the kingdom of Cabul and the Sik states. Seleucus Nicator, the first Greek monarch, despatched Megasthenes as his ambassador to the great Indian king, called by the Greeks Sandracottos, whose capital was at Palibothra, at the junction of the Saone and the Ganges. Megasthenes resided several years at this renowned city, in the very heart of Hindūstan. He had ample means of obtaining information, together with the habit of literary composition. The book he wrote upon India has unfortunately perished, and is now known only through extracts given by Arrian, Strabo, and Ælian. He is not in fairness to be judged by these disjointed passages. It appears from them that he repeated some fabulous stories about pigmies and monsters. But the belief in the

> Pigmean race
> Beyond the Indian mount

was indestructible; and some foundation perhaps might be found among the Bheels, or other diminutive, half-famished, degraded, aboriginal races that have dwelt at all times, and that still dwell, in parts of the hill country of Hindūstan. But even the fragments of Megasthenes convey a very faithful notion of the Indian character and Indian manners. The Indians seem to have remained generally at peace with the Greeks of Bactria, and, probably, learned from them the art of coining money; for although they had been a commercial nation for many ages, it is very doubtful whether they had any regular coin before they came into familiar intercourse with the Greeks; or if they had, their coinage consisted of very rude specimens, such as bits of silver of irregular shapes, bearing a rough device intended to represent the sun or moon. It is therefore imagined they used, as a medium of exchange, ingots of gold and silver, of certain weights, as was the custom of the Chinese.

The kingdom of Bactria flourished under its Greek sovereigns, till it was overthrown, about a century before the Christian era, by the Scythians, or Tartars, who established

their barbaric rule over the greater part of that country to which our late wars have given so much interest.

A distinguished old Indian has collected and published a long series of Greek or Indo-Greek coins, which clearly show the succession of the kings of this Bactrian dynasty, and the state of the arts under those various sovereigns. The earlier coins are bold, free, and classically Greek; but after a century or two they decline towards barbarism, and look not unlike the coinage of the decaying Byzantine empire.*

The invasion of Alexander had produced no material changes in the state of India, which, after his departure, remained almost undisturbed, except by the wars of its own princes, until the more dangerous intrusion of the Mohammedans led the way to great revolutions in every part of the country. During that interval, very little is known respecting the history of the Hindūs, but there is little doubt that the ancient religion of the Bramins was in many regions subverted by the influence of Budhism, which is supposed to have prevailed over the whole of the Deckan, and of which traces have been found in the most northern parts of Hindūstan.

The light let in by the Greeks seems to have been rapidly and greatly obscured. Even Strabo, who wrote about 300 years after the expedition of Alexander, says,—"Few people have seen India: those who have penetrated into it have travelled only over a part of it; they speak by hearsay. The Greeks did not enter the country until rather a late period, since the soldiers of Alexander were the first to open India to the curiosity of the Greeks." A little later than Strabo, Pliny declared that the Romans knew little of the subject, and that those who had travelled in India had brought back stories that were altogether incredible—*incredibilia traduntur.* Both Greeks and Romans carried their god Bacchus and their demi-god Hercules into the Indian Peninsula, apparently confounding them with Brama and Vishnu.

In the mean time the trade of the country was greatly extended by the increased demand for Oriental luxuries among the Romans, whose wants were supplied by the merchants of Arabia (on the Red Sea and on the Persian Gulf), and by the merchants of Alexandria on the Mediterranean, which city

* See 'Coins of Bactria,' &c., by H. T. Prinsep.

the great conqueror had founded with the presentiment that it would become the depôt of a vast trade with the East. The principal manufacture of the Hindūs was the fine muslin of Bengal; but it should appear that the rich silks of which the Romans became so passionately fond, were, in good part, produced not in China but in India. The Hindūs also exported at that period dyeing drugs of the most brilliant colours, diamonds, other precious stones, jewels, spices, perfumes, sugar, raw cotton, and small quantities of raw silk. The merchants of Alexandria carried from Egypt to India silver vessels, musical instruments, the wines of Cyprus, and beautiful female slaves, skilled in music and dancing.

For a long time the spices and aromatics of the Indian Ocean seem to have been considered by the Romans as the natural productions of Sabæa, or Arabia the Happy, which was only the entrepôt. At the funeral of Poppæa, Nero consumed so prodigious a quantity of cinnamon and aromatics as filled the Roman citizens with astonishment. That insane emperor was anxious to know more of the country which produced these precious commodities; but, although Pliny tells us that he sent two centurions from Egypt into the interior of Ethiopia, we are not informed that he sent any one to India.

There was a great overland trade by way of Persia and Asia Minor. The navigation by sea, conducted on the coasting principle, was both tedious and dangerous.

At a date which is somewhat uncertain, but which has been assumed by Dean Vincent as having been during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, or about the year 47 of the Christian era, Hippalus, the commander of a trading vessel in the Red Sea was encouraged to trust himself to the steady blowing of the monsoon wind, and, instead of coasting, to sail right across the ocean from Arabia to India. The periodical changes of these winds, and their constancy in blowing several months from one quarter, had been noticed by Nearchus, and must have been known at all times as well to the Arabian as to the Indian mariners. But a lucky accident is generally considered as having animated Hippalus. A few years before, as a freedman of Annius Plocamus was in the act of collecting tribute to the Romans on the coast of Sabæa, he was carried out to sea, and wafted by the monsoon right across the Indian Ocean to the island of Taprobane or Ceylon. He was

there kindly treated, and the king of Taprobane furnished him with a vessel of more commodious size than that in which he had unexpectedly made his voyage across the ocean. The king sent also four ambassadors with the freedman to the Roman emperor, and a rajah or chief to manage the vessel. There appears to be no rational doubt that both the vessel and the crew were Indians, and that these Indians, trusting to the changed monsoon, which now blew as steadily towards the Arabian coast as it had previously done towards the coast of Ceylon and Malabar, steered their course direct for the mouth of the Red Sea. The voyage of Hippalus, both outward and homeward, was thoroughly successful; the steadiness of the winds was found to render unnecessary the sight of coasts, capes, and promontories, and the other in-shore aids of which the timid mariner availed himself before the sure guidance of the compass; and he could not but report favourably of the ease and comfort of such a navigation. By the Romans and their Greek dependents at least the successful experiment of Hippalus was hailed as a great discovery, which could greatly facilitate and extend the commerce of the East. To perpetuate his fame his name was given to the wind which had wafted him to India. It is supposed that the Indian port he made was either that of Musiris or that of Barace; these are two harbours, not far apart, on the Malabar coasts, supposed by the eminent Indian geographer, Major Rennell, to lie between Goa and Tellicherry, and to be probably represented by the modern Meerzan and Barcelore. These two ports were the principal staple of the trade between Egypt and India, when that trade was most flourishing. These traders and navigators, however, seem to have done but little to add to the stock of knowledge concerning India and the countries to the east of it. The fabulous parts of the narratives of Ctesias and of the officers of Alexander the Great continued to be repeated even by writers of the greatest learning. Other fables were superadded, as well about India as about Ethiopia; and although among the refined and luxurious Romans there was a growing incredulity as to other matters, there appears to have been no decrease of faith as to the existence of monsters in the human shape. Nearly all the marvels in which Sir John Mandeville and others dealt so largely are to be found in the great work of Pliny.

So soon as the Christian religion was firmly established in the West, missionaries of the Gospel began to find their way across the Indian Ocean. Their course was not difficult. The Egyptians, and particularly the people of the Thebais, were distinguished by their enthusiastic zeal for the faith they had embraced: churches and monasteries were built in the desert; Christian colonies were established on either side of the Red Sea, and the great sea-ports which traded with India were filled with Christians, and ruled by Christian magistrates. In many instances, merchants, ship-masters, and crews must all have been converts, and, as such, anxious to disseminate the Gospel. Some of these Arabians had already formed considerable settlements in Ceylon, and in various places on the Malabar coast. If a zealous monk put himself on board a Christian ship in the Red Sea, he might be sure of respect and kind treatment on his voyage, and of a welcome at the end of it from countrymen and co-religionists. It would seem that the only rational way of accounting for the prodigious number of Christians that were found by our early travellers settled in India, is to assume that an emigration in that direction began early, and was continued through a considerable period of time. Some of these early missionaries returned to the countries of their birth, and must have brought back with them much useful information; but the West was sinking deeper and deeper into anarchy and barbarism, and if these travelled monks put their observations upon record, their MSS. perished in the conflagration or general combustion which followed. In the sixth century, in the time of the Emperor Justinian, when the eagle of Rome had become little better than a carrion-crow, the hostile Persians, by stopping caravans by land and ships by sea, succeeded in obtaining an almost entire monopoly of the trade in silk. The price of that commodity in Europe again rose to a prodigious height, and at times silk could hardly be obtained at any price whatever.*

* Charles Mac Farlane, 'Romance of Travel.'

ARAB AND AFGHAN INVASIONS.

IT was soon after the introduction of the Mohammedan religion, in the seventh century of our era, that the Afghans began to be famous in the history of India. They consisted of various warlike tribes, inhabiting the mountains of Ghor, and other hilly districts bordering on Cabul and Persia, where they had dwelt, from time immemorial, as an independent semi-barbarous people, whose origin is unknown. They were not of Hindū race, and are supposed to have been fire-worshippers until the time of Mohammed, to whose religion they became early converts, and, in obedience to the laws of the Koran, propagated his creed by the sword, and frequently invaded the Hindū territories. The Arabs, too, having spread their conquests over all Persia, made frequent inroads into Cabul.

Some have sought in the Afghans the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. There are strong resemblances between them and the Jews; but these are found equally striking among other Asiatic peoples. In fact, some of the customs through which it has been attempted to identify the Afghans with the Israelites are common to most of the Oriental races.

The history of India up to this period is vague and uncertain. The great kingdoms that formerly existed had become divided into smaller states, and the whole country seems to have been composed of a multitude of principalities, without any one great leading monarchy among them. The chief share of power in Hindūstan was possessed by the Rajputs, or warrior class of royal race, who were the most determined and most successful opponents of the Mussulman invaders. The Rajputs all held lands by a feudal tenure, which bound them to perform military service for their respective princes, and thus they constituted a national militia, always being in readiness to take the field on any emergency. They were men proud of their noble descent, and celebrated in history for

many of those romantic deeds of heroism, which it is difficult to determine whether to admire or condemn. The chief seat of the Rajputs was the kingdom of Ajmir, situated to the south-west of Delhi and Agra, between those provinces and the Great Sandy Desert.

The first conquest of importance made by the Afghans was, a portion of the territory of Lahore, the capital of which, named Lahore, was a city of great antiquity in the Panjab, and became the residence of the first Mohammedan rulers in Hindūstan. It is now the capital of the Siks, a new power that arose on the ruins of the Mogul Empire. The late ruler of Lahore, Runjeet Singh, was an ally of the British government in the early part of the Afghan war.

The invasions of the Arabs were, for a long time, confined to the west of the Indus, and were attended with varied success, until the beginning of the eighth century, when they began to make further inroads, and obtained possession of the province of Scind in the same year that the famous Arab general, Taric, crossed over from Africa into Spain, and commenced the rapid course of conquests that ended in the establishment of a Mohammedan empire in Europe.

The province of Scind was conquered by Mohammed Casim, a young warrior, who was sent with an army to besiege the port of Dewal, in consequence of the refusal of the Rajah to indemnify some Arabian merchants for the seizure of one of their vessels. The invaders first attacked a fortified temple which stood close to the city, and was occupied by military Bramins, who made preparations for defence, but whose force was inadequate to contend against so formidable a foe. These unfortunate priests had fixed their sacred banner on the top of a high tower, which was no sooner perceived by the Arab general, than he used every effort to bring it down, rightly judging that some superstition was attached to this standard, which was, in fact, regarded as the palladium of the place; and when it fell, the temple was immediately surrendered, for it was deemed useless by the besieged to hold out against the decree of fate thus manifested in the fall of the banner. The Bramins were then required to renounce their idolatry, and embrace the religion of the Prophet; on which terms the conquerors offered to spare their lives and property. But the Bramins, though vanquished, sternly refused to abandon their

faith; and all of them above the age of seventeen were cruelly put to death, while those who were younger, with many women and children, were carried away to be sold as slaves. Yet Casim is praised by historians for the humanity with which he generally treated the vanquished during his victorious career, nor is any other instance recorded of such severity as sullied his conquest at Dewal, where the city, as well as the temple, was given up to plunder, and numbers of the inhabitants were reduced to slavery.

The victor then proceeded towards Aror, the capital of the province, and was met by the Raja Dahir, with a large army, on the banks of the Indus, where a battle was fought, in which the Raja was slain, and his troops defeated. But this victory did not decide the fate of the capital, which was courageously defended by the widow of the deceased Raja, who, aided by a Rajput garrison, held out until a failure of provisions prevented the possibility of a longer resistance, when the siege was terminated by one of those desperate acts of self-sacrifice frequently met with in Hindū history. The women of the garrison raised funeral piles, which they ascended with their children, and lighted with their own hands; while the men, after performing many religious ceremonies, embraced and bade adieu to each other; then opening the gates, they rushed forth into the midst of the besiegers, and thus perished, fighting to the last moment. Aror, then a fine city, but now in ruins, was, after this scene of horror, occupied without further opposition by the Arabs; but its peaceful inhabitants were not molested, as they paid, without opposition, the tribute imposed on them. The treasures of the late Raja were however seized, and his daughter, a princess remarkable for her beauty and captivating manners, was sent to the court of the Arabian calif at Damascus. Little did Casim foresee the consequences of presenting the beautiful Indian to his sovereign, over whom she soon gained an almost unlimited influence, which she employed to effect the destruction of the conqueror.

In the mean time, Casim had reduced the whole of Raja Dahir's dominions to subjection, and gained the good-will of the people by his moderation and conciliating manners. Several of the Hindū princes had become his allies, while all the cities that agreed to pay tribute had their privileges restored, and were allowed to rebuild the temples that had been de-

stroyed. The prosperous career of the young Moslem chief was, however, suddenly terminated by the artifice of Dahir's daughter, who was bent on revenging the death of her father; and, with that purpose, brought a false accusation against Casim to the calif, who was credulous enough to believe, on the word of the fair captive, that his faithful general had been guilty of an act of treachery that merited severe punishment, and, without investigating the case, he despatched an order for his instant death. The cruel sentence was executed, and the princess then exultingly declared the innocence of her victim, and the motive that had led her to practise the fatal deception.

The conquests of Casim were retained about thirty-six years, when a revolution in the Arabian government occasioned the expulsion of the Mohammedans from the province of Scind, which was recovered by its native princes, and many of the expelled Arabs found refuge among the Afghans. The cause of this revolution was the downfall of the first dynasty of Califs, that of the Ommiades, all the princes, except one, of that race having fallen victims to a cruel conspiracy, by which the family of the Abbassides gained possession of the throne. The contests that ensued between the respective adherents of the two parties in India, as well as in other conquered countries, caused so much confusion, that, in many cases, the people who had been subjected to the Mohammedan government, recovered their freedom, as they did in Scind, which long afterwards remained an independent state, ruled by its own sovereign.

It was about this time that monastic orders were first instituted by the Bramins, but so little is known respecting the earliest of these associations, that it is even doubtful whether they consisted solely of the priests, or whether persons of other castes were admitted into them, as they are now. Perhaps the religious communities of the Bramins were originally formed in opposition to the Budhists, who, there is every reason to believe, were the dominant priesthood in India at that time.

The events relating to the long contest between the two great religious sects in India are involved in obscurity, nor is much known of the general history of the country during the middle ages, which has given rise to a conjecture that the Bramins, who ultimately triumphed over their rivals, destroyed

all the records that might have proclaimed to posterity the subversion of their power.

The Bramins of that period differed from those of ancient times in regard to many particulars. Their authority was less absolute, and the religion they taught was more idolatrous. The sacred books of the ancient priests were disused, and others substituted, called the Puranas, which were more adapted to the new system; and although ascribed to the same origin as the Vedas, are known to have been composed by many learned Bramins at different times, between the eighth and sixteenth centuries. They contain a number of legends, and unconnected fragments of history, with instructions for the numerous religious ceremonies to be observed by the different castes, which were maintained as strictly as in former times. The punishment for breaking any of the rules was loss of caste, a sentence more terrible even than that of excommunication by the Roman pontiff, in the early days of Christianity; for the excommunicated Christian might be restored to his former state, by expiating his offence; but the unhappy Hindū who forfeited his station, became an outcast from society for ever, without a hope of regaining the position he had lost. The wretched men thus situated were termed Pariahs. They were aliens from their kind, forced to hide themselves in some cave or forest, not daring to speak to, or approach any human being; and so great was the horror of coming in contact with one of this degraded class, that no Indian would dress his food on a spot of ground over which the shadow of a pariah had been seen to pass. Thus the loss of caste was, in those days, far worse than death.

MUSSULMAN CONQUESTS.

Two hundred years had elapsed since the expulsion of the Arabs from Scind, when the Mussulman arms were again directed towards India, which became the theatre of a long series of calamitous wars that ended in the subjection of the country to the Mogul emperors. The new invaders were the Turks and other Tartar or Mongul tribes, who had founded

several states on the ruins of the Arabian empire, and had extended their dominions so near to the Indus, that some of the Hindū rajas grew alarmed at finding a Mohammedan government established close to their own frontiers.

The city of Ghazni, near Cabul, had become the capital of a sovereignty founded by the Turkish governor of Chorasan, who, from the condition of a slave, had been raised to that high office; but having revolted against the sultan his master, he seized on Ghazni, and took possession of the whole tract of country between that and the Indus, where his authority was acknowledged by several Turkish and Afghan tribes. This chief left his newly-acquired dominions to a favourite, named Sebektegin, who had also been a slave, but had gradually attained to the highest rank in the army, and had been rewarded for his services by the hand of his sovereign's daughter.

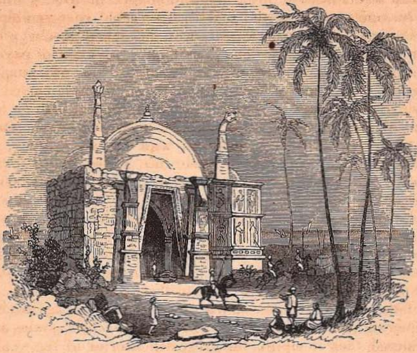
Soon after the accession of Sebektegin, the Raja of Lahore, whose dominions were only separated from those of his Mohammedan neighbour by the Indus, entered the territory of Ghazni with a large force, hoping to crush the rising power of that infant state; but he soon found it was already strong enough to support itself, so that he was glad to retire without coming to an engagement, although he was only allowed to do so on condition that he should give up fifty elephants, and pay a certain sum of money to the new state. Having agreed to these terms, he returned to his kingdom; but when Sebektegin sent for the money, he refused to comply with the demand, and imprisoned the messengers; an insult which the chief of Ghazni revenged by invading Lahore, which was speedily subdued; and all the Afghan tribes within that territory tendered their allegiance to the conqueror. Such was the beginning of the Mussulman conquests in India; and thus was opened a future path of glory for Mahmud, who succeeded his father, Sebektegin, in the year 997.

Mahmud, who assumed the title of sultan, was one of the greatest warriors of his time. His chief ambition was to extend his religion throughout the rich provinces of India, a task to which he was stimulated by a belief, cherished from his early boyhood, that he was entrusted with a divine mission to extirpate idolatry from the land of the Hindūs. It was about four years after his father's death, that he marched from

Ghazni at the head of his army, and crossed the Indus, where his passage was opposed by Sebektegin's old enemy, Jeipal, the Raja of Lahore, who was defeated and taken prisoner; but after a short captivity he was released, on condition of paying the same tribute that had been exacted by the late king of Ghazni. The unfortunate Raja, who had been despoiled of jewels to the amount of eighty thousand pounds, which he had about him when he was made prisoner, returned to his capital; but being dispirited and worn out with the toils of war, he abdicated in favour of his son. He then raised a funeral pile with his own hands, calmly ascended it, and kindled the flames, in which he perished.

The contest with Mahmud was regarded by the Indians in the light of a holy war, and a powerful confederacy of all the princes was formed for the defence of their religion, while the women gave up their jewels and golden ornaments for the support of a cause that was as dear to them as to their husbands and fathers; but all their efforts proved ineffectual against the conquering arms of the sultan, who dispersed their armies and plundered their temples, the great depositories of the wealth of the country. After each campaign, Mahmud returned to his capital laden with spoil, and followed by trains of wretched captives doomed to slavery, leaving behind him scenes of misery and desolation such as had never been witnessed in Hindūstan until that unhappy period.

Among the many places of Hindū worship destroyed by this prince, were the temples of Nagarcot and Somnath, both containing immense treasures, and celebrated for their peculiar sanctity. That of Nagarcot was attached to a mountain fortress in the Panjab, connected with the Hemalaya range, and besides having been enriched by the valuable offerings of a long line of Indian princes, all the wealth of the neighbourhood, consisting of gold, silver, and jewels, had been placed there for security during the wars; consequently it proved an important prize to the invaders who broke the idols and carried off all the treasures. These precious spoils were exhibited by Mahmud, at Ghazni, on tables said to be of solid gold, on the occasion of his celebrating his triumph by a grand public festival, when the people of all ranks were feasted for three days, on an open plain, and alms were liberally distributed among the poor.



Temple of Somnath.

Mahmud had now extended his conquests over the whole of the Panjab, and his next scene of action was the mountainous country of Ghor, inhabited by Afghan tribes, where he was equally successful, and the chief of whom, to avoid the humiliation of making submission, put an end to his life by poison. The descendants of that great chief, about one hundred and seventy years afterwards, deposed the prince of the house of Ghazni, and became in their turn, conquerors and rulers.

In the meantime, the city of Ghazni was growing into a great and splendid capital. The court was magnificent, for Mahmud was one of the richest monarchs in the world, and dispensed his illgotten treasures with a liberal hand. He founded and endowed a university at Ghazni, and granted pensions to men of literary talent, who were treated with great respect at his court. He also built a handsome mosque, and adorned the city with baths and fountains, while most of the great men erected palaces for themselves; so that Ghazni was one of the finest capitals in the east. Almost all the inhabitants were Persians.

The wars carried on by Sultan Mahmud in India were, no doubt, undertaken from zeal in the cause of his religion, aided perhaps by a desire of appropriating the wealth of the numerous shrines ; for he was not oppressive in his government, but, on the contrary, was just towards his own subjects, easy of access, and ready to listen to any complaints. One day, a poor woman appeared before him in great distress, saying that a caravan had been attacked in the desert, within one of the states which had come into his possession by conquest, and that her husband was among those who had been killed by the robbers. The sultan said that he was sorry for her misfortune, but that it was impossible for him to keep order in so distant a part of his dominions; to which the woman fearlessly replied, "Then why do you take kingdoms which you cannot govern?" Mahmud, so far from being offended, dismissed her with a handsome present, and adopted measures for the future protection of the caravans.

"Mahmud," says Mr. Elphinstone, "had from his boyhood accompanied his father in his campaigns, and had given early indications of a warlike and decided character. . . . . Not the least of his advantages was the command of his father's treasures; he employed them to conciliate the leading men with presents, to augment the pay of the army, and to court popularity with all classes by a lavish expenditure on shows and entertainments." Some of his marches were very extraordinary. When he commenced his Indian enterprises, he had to undertake a march of three months, to cross seven great rivers, and to hazard himself in a country hitherto unexplored. It must not for a moment be understood, that his progress was rapid and his conquest easy. He advanced step by step.

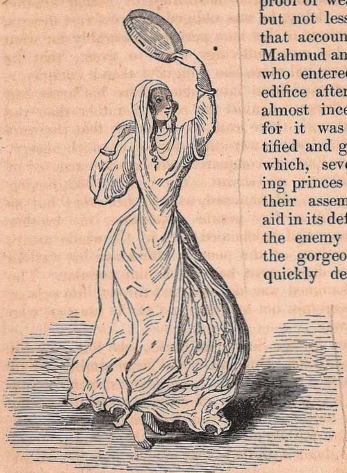
During the space of twenty years, Mahmud had confined his invasions to the countries already mentioned, but his ambition increasing with his success, he determined to make an expedition to the Ganges, and, after a march of three months, arrived before the gates of Kanoj, the richest and largest city of Hindūstan, having succeeded Palibothra as the capital of the states bordering on the Ganges. The Raja being thus taken by surprise, and totally unprepared for defence, came out with his whole family, to surrender himself prisoner, when the sultan magnanimously proposed to enter into a friendly alliance with him. After remaining at Kanoj a few days, as

the guest of the prince, he departed with his army to Mattra, one of the holy cities of the Hindūs, which, for that reason, was plundered without scruple, and numbers of the inhabitants carried away for slaves. The magnificence of the temples at Mattra, which were all built of marble, astonished the sultan, who commanded his soldiers not to destroy them; but they were plundered of their treasures, and all the idols broken.

Many fine old cities were destroyed by the Mohammedans in this and succeeding wars, the sites of which are now only a matter of conjecture. The remains of ancient temples, coins of an early date, fragments of walls, pottery, and the numerous interesting relics of antiquity, lately discovered, buried in some instances far below the surface of the earth, serve to show that many a spot now deserted was formerly the abode of a vast population. The Afghan shepherds who feed their flocks on a wide plain not far distant from Cabul, frequently meet with evident tokens of former habitation, and the remains of a very ancient wall, about four feet underground, mark out the boundary of a city of immense extent; but there is no history extant to furnish us with the date of its existence, the condition of its inhabitants, or the cause of its being buried in the dust. The numerous coins of the early and middle ages found recently in various parts of Hindūstan prove the existence and duration of several states, and record the names of many of their sovereigns not otherwise known; but they throw no light on the general state of the country, nor do they afford any information with regard to the people for whose use they were coined.

The most celebrated exploit of Sultan Mahmud in India was the conquest of the great temple of Somnath, near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Guzerat, at that time the richest and most frequented place of worship in the country. There were two thousand priests belonging to the shrine of Somnath, with a numerous train of musicians and female dancers, whose talents were called forth at all the religious festivals which were conducted with the utmost joyousness; and all these were maintained out of the revenues of two thousand villages that had been granted by different princes, to support the grandeur of this splendid place of worship. The interior of the temple exhibited a specimen of Hindū magnificence, that was, no doubt, highly agreeable to the invaders. The great lamp was suspended by a chain of

solid gold, and the pillars that supported the lofty roof were richly carved, and ornamented with precious stones, a greater proof of wealth than taste, but not less admirable on that account in the eyes of Mahmud and his followers, who entered the spacious edifice after three days of almost incessant fighting, for it was strongly fortified and guarded, besides which, several neighbouring princes had come with their assembled forces to aid in its defence. At length the enemy prevailed, and the gorgeous temple was quickly despoiled by the rude hands of the Mussulman soldiers.



Female Dancer.

It is related that the chief Bramins prostrated themselves before the conqueror, entreating him to spare the great idol which was the grand object of their adoration, offering to purchase its safety by an enormous ransom; but Mahmud, who probably had a suspicion of the truth, ordered that the image should be broken in his presence, when the floor of the Temple was instantly covered with the gold and jewels that had been concealed within it.

In the meantime, the Raja of Guzerat had fled from his capital of Auhalwara, where Mahmud set up a new prince, who was to pay him tribute; and having thus enriched himself with the treasures of Somnath, and settled the affairs of Guzerat to his satisfaction, he set out on his return to Ghazni. The route by which he had arrived was now occupied by hos-

tile troops, assembled to intercept his passage, and as his own army was much reduced both in strength and numbers, he sought to avoid a renewal of hostilities, by taking another road; but in so doing, he was obliged to cross vast deserts, where great numbers of his men perished miserably for want of water, and his own sufferings were so great, that he returned to his capital more like a fugitive than a conqueror. This was his last expedition into India, where his arms had been constantly directed against the religion rather than the people; and although there can be no doubt that the wars he forced upon the Indians were the occasion of much misery, yet there are few Eastern conquerors who are less accused of cruelty than Mahmud of Ghazni. He died in 1030, having named his eldest son, Mohammed, as his successor; but as that prince was of a very gentle disposition, his brother Masaud was chosen and proclaimed king by the whole army, as well as by numbers of the people, with whom his warlike habits and bolder deportment had made him popular. The unfortunate Mohammed was deposed and thrown into prison, where his eyes were put out by command of the usurper, who seized on the throne.

Had it not been for the Seljukian Turks, who fell upon his dominions out of India, Mahmud would have established an immense empire in the Peninsula. He founded a university in Ghazni, with a vast collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. He appropriated a large sum for the maintenance of this establishment. He also set aside about 10,000*l*. a year for pensions to learned men.

The quarrels and wars of the princes of Ghazni have little connection with the history of India, except that while their attention was engaged in other quarters, some of the Hindū rajas took the opportunity of recovering portions of their dominions. The idol was set up again in the temple of Nagarcōt, and the Hindūs rose in arms against the Mussulmans throughout the Panjab, where the whole country was long in a state of confusion, during which the sultans of Ghazni had removed their court to Lahore, which thus became the first capital of the Mohammedan empire in India. The successors of Mahmud kept possession of the throne till the latter part of the twelfth century, when they were dispossessed by the Afghan princes of the house of Ghor, whose conquests in

India were more extensive than those of Sultan Mahmud, by whom their mountainous country had been formerly subjected.

The Ghorian chiefs, who had re-established their independence, looked upon the sovereign of Ghazni in the light of rivals, and were constantly engaged in a kind of desultory warfare with them. As the power of those princes declined, that of their opponents increased, till, at length, Khusru Malik, the last monarch of his race, was made prisoner by Mohammed Ghori, who took possession of his capital of Lahore and his throne, in the year 1187. This conquest was achieved by a cruel stratagem, which perfectly accords with our present ideas of the Afghan character. The young son of Khusru had fallen into the hands of Mohammed Ghori, who detained him for some time as a hostage, till he was prepared to execute the project he had formed; when, feigning a desire to make peace, he released the youth, and allowed him to depart for Lahore with a small escort. The sultan, to whom intelligence had been sent that his son was on the road, set off, as was expected, to meet him, too happy to think of treachery, when he suddenly found himself surrounded by a body of troops, was made captive, and kept in prison during the remainder of his life.

Some years before this event, the beautiful city of Ghazni was plundered and destroyed by the Afghans, all its superb edifices being demolished, except three royal tombs, one of which was that of Mahmud, a spacious building, surmounted by a cupola, and standing at present in the midst of a village. The modern town of Ghazni, one of the principal scenes of action in the late war, stands close to the site of the ancient city, the ruins of which overspread the adjacent plain; and near the citadel, on which the British flag was lately planted, are two elegant minarets, built by Sultan Mahmud, when Ghazni was in all its glory. It is still considered a place of great importance on account of the strength of its fortifications, but it has no longer any claim to admiration as in days of old, when it was the splendid capital of a great kingdom.

About the time of the fall of the house of Ghazni, the celebrated Temple of Juggernaut was completed, at a town bearing the same name, situated on the sea-coast, in the province of Orissa, and within the British presidency of Bengal, at the distance of about two hundred and sixty miles south of Calcutta. The principal street of Juggernaut is composed entirely

of religious edifices, interspersed with luxuriant plantations, and at its end, on a high terrace, stands the temple of Juggernaut, or Vishnu. Juggernaut is famed as a place of pilgrimage, where, at some of the annual festivals, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand persons are sometimes assembled, of both sexes, and all ranks; for there is no distinction of caste within the precincts of this shrine, where every sect is admitted and all worshippers are upon an equality. The chief temple, to which are attached fifty smaller ones, is built of red granite, and, with its minor edifices, is enclosed with a stone wall, but is open every day, when the idol may be seen by those who go either to worship or to indulge their curiosity. The great idol Juggernaut, or Vishnu, consists of a wooden bust, of immense size, with most hideous features; and two other monstrous figures are worshipped as his brother and sister. The shrine of these images is an inner apartment in the temple, surmounted by a high tower, which may be seen from a great distance, and is useful as a landmark to sailors.

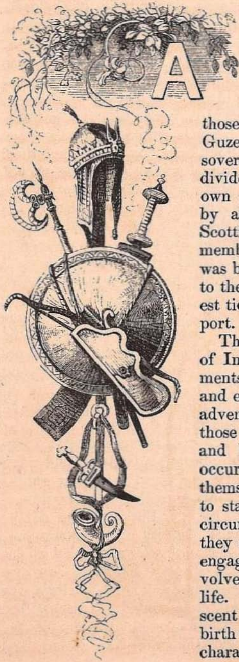
The land for twenty miles around Juggernaut is considered holy ground, and held free of rent by the cultivators, on condition that they shall perform certain services for the temple, which is furnished daily with a large supply of rice, vegetables, clarified butter, milk, spices, and other viands, which are placed as a banquet before the idols, by priests appointed for that purpose, and left for one hour, during which time the doors of the temple are closed, and the dancing girls belonging to the establishment sing and dance in a spacious apartment adjoining the shrine. At the expiration of the hour the food is taken away, and furnishes a real repast for the Bramins.

The grand festival of Juggernaut is held in March, when crowds of pilgrims arrive from all parts of India to worship the Idol, which is carried in state to another temple, where it remains four days, to receive the adorations of the people. The three images are removed on this occasion on large cars, that of Juggernaut having sixteen wheels, and a lofty dome, covered with woollen cloth of some conspicuous colour. The Idol is borne from the temple by a number of Bramins appointed for that purpose, and, being placed on the car with many ceremonies, is drawn by the multitude, amid loud acclamations, to its destination, followed by a long procession, accompanied with drums, trumpets, and other noisy instruments. In former times, when Hindū superstition was at its

height, it is said that numbers of devotees used to seek what they imagined to be a glorious death, by throwing themselves under the wheels of the chariot that bore the hideous object of their adoration. Self sacrifice has always been deemed a meritorious act among the idolatrous natives of India; and as it is well known that many precipitate themselves, at certain seasons, into the Ganges, the horrible spectacle representing the car of Juggernaut passing over the bodies of his misguided worshippers may possibly be no fiction. At this festival all castes are permitted to eat together. The influx of pilgrims is great at all times; and among them are frequently found poor creatures in a dying state, who make this painful journey not with a hope of being restored to health, but from a superstitious belief that future happiness will be the lot of him who breathes his last sigh within sight of the temple of Juggernaut.

Pilgrim.

THE PATAN, OR AFGHAN KINGS.



AT the period when the Turkish dynasty gave place to that of the Afghans, the principal kingdoms in India were those of Delhi, Ajmir, Kanoj, and Guzerat, all governed by Rajput sovereigns. The Rajputs were divided into clans, each under its own chief, whose name was borne by all his people, as among the Scottish highlanders; and every member of these associated bodies was bound to his own chieftain and to the rest of his clan by the strongest ties of mutual interest and support.

The Rajputs were the chivalry of India, romantic in their attachments, tenacious of their honour, and ever ready to engage in daring adventures. The friendships of those high-minded men were strong and lasting. It was a common occurrence for two friends to bind themselves by the most sacred vows to stand by each other, under all circumstances, until death; nor were they ever known to violate such an engagement, though it might involve the loss of liberty or even life. As the Rajputs claimed a descent from royalty, the pride of birth was one of their distinguishing characteristics, and was observable

in their lofty bearing; yet the chivalric knights of Europe, in that romantic age, were not more devoted or respectful in their attentions to the softer sex, than the noble Hindūs of the warrior caste.

A sort of feudal system was established among these warlike clans, as every soldier held lands on condition of performing military service for his chief; and the chiefs held their territories of the princes by the same tenure; and when, by the chances of war, or any other accident, a clan was obliged to change its locality, the new lands were distributed in the same proportions as the old ones had been.

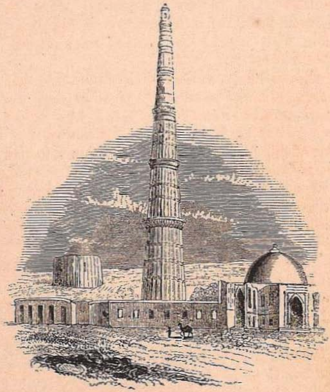
Just before the accession of Mohammed Ghori, the kingdoms of Ajmir and Delhi had become united, in consequence of one of the princes dying without heirs, on which the other, who was related to him by marriage, succeeded to the vacant throne; and the sovereign of these extensive territories was Pritwi Raja, against whom the Afghan conqueror first led his armies, as a prelude to a grand design he had formed of subjecting the whole of Hindostan to his authority. The first battle terminated in favour of the Hindū Raja; but in a second engagement, a few years afterwards, he was totally defeated, and, being made prisoner, was put to death. His capital of Ajmir was entered in triumph by the victors, whose barbarous conduct towards the inhabitants gave a sad foretaste to the unhappy Hindūs of the horrors they were destined to experience in this new warfare. The conquest of Ajmir being achieved, Mohammed appointed to the government his favourite officer Kuttub, who had formerly been a slave, and who, in the course of time, ascended the throne.

The new Viceroy did not fail to take advantage of his elevated position, but followed up his master's successes, and having subdued the surrounding country to a great extent, he gained possession of the city of Delhi, subsequently the splendid capital of the Mogul empire in India. The victories of the Mohammedans, in the immediate vicinity of his dominions, gave great alarm to the Raja of Kanoj, who assembled all his forces, and led them against the Viceroy Kuttub. The two armies met on the banks of the Jamna, where the Raja was slain, and the Hindūs were completely routed; a victory that extended the Mussulman empire over the greatest of the Indian monarchies, and opened the way into Behar and

Bengal. A great number of the Rajputs of Kanoj emigrated with their families to Marwar, or, as it is more frequently called, Joudpoor, a large state in Rajputana, where they founded a principality that is now in alliance with the British government.

The capture of Kanoj was followed by that of Benares, celebrated as the seat of Hindū learning, and esteemed the most holy city in all Hindūstan. It is situated on the Ganges, extending about four miles along that river ,and upon an embankment of considerable height, from which access to the water is obtained, by means of several handsome flights of steps, for the convenience of performing the frequent ablutions required by the Hindū forms of worship. The Bramin college was at Benares, and some thousands of Bramin families resided in the city, which contained a great number of Hindū temples, and was frequented by pilgrims from all parts of India. The plundering of the temples was an invariable consequence of a Mussulman conquest, and few of the victories of Mohammed Ghori were unstained by those cruelties which are so much more revolting than the horrors of a battle-field. That prince prosecuted the wars until he had extended his dominion over the whole of Hindūstan, to the very confines of China; when, in returning from one of his campaigns, he was assassinated by a band of conspirators, who swam across the Indus one night when he was sleeping in his tent, which he had ordered to be placed close to the river, that he might enjoy the cool breeze from the water. Thus, after a reign of nineteen years, died Mohammed Ghori, a greater conqueror than Mahmud of Ghazni, though not so great a sovereign, but whose fame it had been his greatest ambition to eclipse. His death, which took place in 1206, was followed by quarrels and wars for possession of the Indian conquests, some of which were governed by Mohammedan viceroys, others by native princes, who had consented to pay tribute. At length Kuttub, the governor of Delhi, prevailed over all competitors, and for a short time ruled as sovereign over the vast dominions of Mohammed Ghori; but his son, who succeeded at his death, was very soon compelled to relinquish the throne to Altamsh, who, like Kuttub, had been a slave in his younger days, but had risen by the favour of Mohammed, till at length he was appointed to one of the Indian governments.

The capital was now fixed at Delhi, a very extensive and magnificent city, supposed to have covered a space of ground equal to that occupied by the whole of London, as the ruins are still to be seen to that extent over the plain beyond the present city. In the time of Altamsh was erected or finished a beautiful round tower, which is still standing near Delhi, called the Kuttub Minar, the highest column known in the world, being forty feet higher than the Monument in London. It is built in the form of a minaret, of red granite, inlaid with white marble, and crowned by a majestic dome.



Kuttub Minar.

It was in the reign of Altamsh, that the Mogul emperor, Zinghis khan, led his armies into the west of Asia, and pursued his victories to the shores of the Indus; but he did not cross that river; so that the states of Hindūstan escaped, for a time, the horrors of a Mogul invasion.

The many revolutions that took place in the government, after the death of Altamsh, with the disputes and wars of the

chiefs for the possession of the throne, render the history of this period extremely confused and uninteresting. The most remarkable event was the accession of a female sovereign, Rezia, the daughter of Altamsh, who was placed on the throne in consequence of a rebellion against her brother, Feroze, whose indolence and extravagance had given rise to popular tumults. The princess filled the throne with great ability, revised the laws, and made some salutary reforms in the administration. She gave audience every morning to the people, according to the custom of Eastern monarchs, to receive petitions, and redress grievances, when she always appeared in the habit of a sultan, and is highly extolled for the wisdom with which she decided such causes as were brought before her.

But it was not likely, in those time of anarchy, that a woman would be long suffered to occupy a position that was coveted by so many ambitious chiefs, and Rezia was deposed in less than three years, by the partizans of one of her brothers. The leader of this conspiracy was a nobleman, named Altunia, to whose care the sultana was confided; but instead of keeping her as a prisoner, he pursuaded her to become his wife; and then asserted her right to the throne of which he had helped to deprive her, and went to war with his former confederates. Two battles were fought in this cause, the second of which proved fatal to the sultana and her consort, who were both made prisoners, and put to death.

Not long after this event, Nazir-u-din Mahmud, sometimes called Mahmud the Second, was chosen by the Omrahs, or nobles, to be their sovereign. Nazir was a very singular character. He took a pride in maintaining himself by the labour of his own hands, and, to that end, employed all his leisure time in transcribing valuable works, by which he earned sufficient money to pay all his personal expenses, taking care that they should not exceed the means supplied by his industry. His fare was as simple as that of a peasant, and usually prepared by his queen, who appears to have accommodated herself to her royal husband's eccentricities. Yet Nazir was much respected as a king, and was successful in repelling the invasions of the Moguls, who continued to harass the frontiers of the Panjab; but during the latter part of his life he left the management of affairs almost entirely to his

vizier, Balin, who, at his death in 1266, succeeded without opposition, to the throne.

The court of Balin, at Delhi, was famous for the many literary characters who resided there, as also for the number of Turkish princes who had sought refuge with the powerful sovereign of Hindūstan, from the violence of the Moguls, whose inroads had driven them from their respective territories. Balin reigned twenty-three years, and was succeeded by his grandson, the last of his race, who was assassinated after a brief reign, when the Khiljis, a mountain tribe that had become identified with the Afghans, took advantage of the confusion that ensued, to raise one of their own chiefs to the sovereignty of Delhi.

Jelal, the new king, was a kind-hearted old man, whose convivial temper led him to treat his old companions with the same familiarity after he had been made king of a large empire, as when he was only the chief of a horde of mountaineers; and whose mild disposition rendered it so painful to him to inflict punishment, that the laws were seldom enforced; and the highways, in consequence, became infested with robbers, while the chiefs of petty states refused to pay their tribute. The king had a favourite nephew, Ala-u-din, a man of great ambition and energy, on whom he bestowed the government of Oude, allowing him to keep a large army at his command.

The power thus entrusted to this enterprising prince proved the occasion of a new era in the history of India, since the first use he made of it was to invade the Deckan, a country till then but little known, having from its remote situation escaped the ravages of the conquerors of Hindūstan.

The Deckan contained several large states, governed by Hindū Rajas. The capital of one of these was Deogiri, now Dowlatabad, a wealthy city on the borders of the Mahratta country, where Ram Deo Raja kept his court, a prince of such high consideration, that he was called "King of the Deckan." The conquest of Deogiri was the object which Ala-u-din had in view when he led his army into the Deckan, across the great chain of mountains that forms its natural boundary, and through vast forests scarcely penetrable. The Raja was not prepared to see a powerful enemy at his gates, for not even a rumour had reached him of the Mussulman

chief's approach. To defend the city was impossible, therefore he retired to the Hill fort, a place of great strength outside the walls, while the town was entered and plundered by the invaders, who would probably have destroyed it, if Ram Deo had not consented to cede some portion of his dominions to Ala-u-din, and to pay him a large sum of money as a ransom for the safety of his capital. The victor then set out on his return, all his thoughts being bent upon raising himself to the throne; a project he speedily accomplished, by procuring the assassination of his good old uncle, who had been frequently warned of the danger of giving so much power to this ambitious and unprincipled chief.

Not long after the usurpation of Ala-u-din, an important victory was gained near Delhi over the Moguls, who appeared in terrific numbers, within sight of the capital, from which the inhabitants fled in the utmost consternation. This formidable army was, however, defeated with great loss, and the country again freed from the dreaded Moguls, who made no conquests in India until the time of Tamerlane.

Just before this invasion, the king had undertaken an expedition for the recovery of Guzerat, formerly conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni, but which had been lost by his successors. This extensive province, which now comprehends the northern districts of the British presidency of Bombay, was inhabited by Hindūs, Mohammedans, and Parsees; the last, a people who, in the seventeenth century, emigrated from Persia, in consequence of a revolution in that country, and settled in the northern part of Guzerat, which is strongly fortified by nature with steep and craggy mountains, which render it on that side almost inaccessible. The Parsees were fire worshippers, and it it is stated that many of them still adhere to their ancient religion. They are now a numerous, wealthy, and important class of the population of Bombay, extensively engaged in commerce, and connected with almost all the European mercantile houses in that part of India. Ala-u-din reconquered Guzerat, and took possession of the capital, from which the Raja escaped, with his only daughter, while his wife, Caula Devi, was made prisoner, and conveyed to the harem of the conqueror. The daughter, a princess of extraordinary beauty, had long been beloved by the son of Ram Deo, the Raja of Deogiri; but as her father, who was himself a Rajput, refused

to bestow her on a prince of the Mahratta race, whom he deemed very inferior in point of rank, the lover had abandoned his hopeless suit.

It happened, some time afterwards, that Ala-u-din sent a large army into the Deckan, under the command of an able general, named Cafur, hoping to reduce some part of that country to subjection. Caula Devi, who had by this time gained great influence over the king, entreated that he would desire his general to take some means, during the expedition, to recover her daughter, who was residing with her father, in one of the petty states of the Deckan, where he had taken refuge. An application was made to the fugitive Raja to give up the young lady to her mother, but, as this request was not complied with, a party was despatched to take her by force, a consequence that had been foreseen by the Raja, who had provided against it, by giving a reluctant consent to her marriage with the son of Ram Deo, and sending her with an escort to the court of Deogiri. Cafur's people, finding she was gone, divided into several parties, and set off by different ways, in pursuit of the fair fugitive, who was at length discovered in the Caves of Ellora, in the neighbourhood of Deogiri, which curiosity had induced her to visit, and whither her pursuers had been led by a similar motive. The attendants of the princess used their best endeavours to protect their charge, but the Mohammedans were the stronger party, and carried off their prize to Delhi, where she soon afterwards became the bride of the king's eldest son, whom she preferred to the prince of Deogiri, although he was a Mohammedan, and the son of her father's greatest enemy. In the meantime, Cafur was pursuing the wars in the Deckan, where he made many conquests, and acquired vast treasures by the usual violent means.

Hindūstan remained at peace after the defeat of the Moguls, and, during the earlier years of the reign of Ala-u-din, enjoying a high degree of prosperity; but the despotism of that monarch in the latter part of his life increased to excessive tyranny, and gave rise to many insurrections and secret conspiracies, which, being discovered, subjected the people to still greater oppressions. The king forbade all private meetings, and carried this restriction so far, that no one was allowed to entertain his friends at his own house, without a written per-

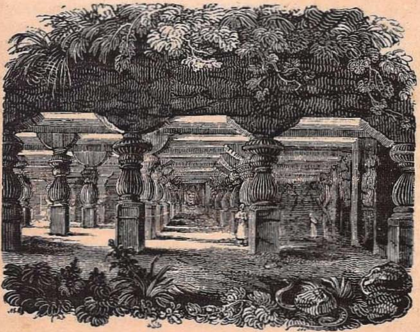
mission from the chief minister; and there were spies employed in all directions, to give information of any infringement of this order, which subjected the offender to imprisonment, and the confiscation of his property. The Mohammedan and Hindū nobles were alike objects of jealousy, while every class of people felt, more or less, the tyranny of the government, either by new exactions, or fresh restrictions. The rent of land was increased, and the farmers were prohibited from keeping more than a specified number of cattle, sheep, or servants; the prices were fixed for every article of food sold in the markets; the hours for opening and shutting the shops were regulated by law, and the slightest neglect of these, and many other rules, was punished with the utmost severity. It must, therefore, have been a cause of general rejoicing when Ala-u-din died in 1316, although his death was followed by five years of anarchy. The conquered part of the Deckan was in a state of insurrection, and the Mussulman garrisons were expelled from all the cities; while Cafur seized on the government, having, according to some writers, imprisoned the late king's sons, and put out their eyes. The usurper was soon assassinated, and a younger son of Ala-u-din placed on the throne, but being a weak and vicious prince, he was deposed in a short time, and a new dynasty founded by Gheias Toghlak, the Mohammedan governor of the Panjab, who was proclaimed king at Delhi, in 1321.

The intermixture of Mohammedans with the Hindūs had naturally produced some changes in the manners of the latter, in all those parts of India which had fallen under the authority of the conquerors. Many Indians had been converted to the faith of their rulers; and mixed marriages had created ties between the natives and the strangers that led to the adoption of new customs, especially with regard to the women of India, who, in the early ages, enjoyed much more freedom, and far greater privileges, than have been accorded to them in later times.

At this period, there were many sects of religious devotees among the Hindūs, who lived upon charity, and obtained a reputation for sanctity, by making long pilgrimages, and imposing severe penances upon themselves. Among these were the Faquirs, who, at that time, were held in great veneration by the people, over whom they possessed an almost

unlimited influence. They were everywhere received and fed, while their instructions were listened to with respect, and their austerities were regarded with reverence and admiration. These men were always met with in great numbers at Juggernaut, and other holy places, and contrived to turn their long journeys to some profit, by concealing in their long matted hair, and the clothes wrapped round them, such valuables as pearls, gold dust, and corals with small quantities of the most costly spices, and perfumes, in which they trafficked to considerable advantage between the sea-coast and the interior.

Among the changes effected by the Mohammedan conquests in India was, the introduction of the Turkish costume, which had become very general at Delhi, and was worn in most parts of Hindūstan among the upper classes. The Brahmins, however, did not adopt the new style of dress; and even to this day, all strict members of their class clothe themselves in the ancient Hindū fashion.



Temple of Elephanta.

INVASION OF THE MOGULS.

HE authority of the kings of Delhi over the Rajas of the country was held by a very uncertain tenure, since every change that took place in the government was a signal for the native princes to attempt the recovery of their independence. When Gheias Toghlak ascended the throne, the greater part of Bengal was in a state of revolt, and the new monarch, after having secured his frontiers against the invasions of the Moguls, proceeded to that province with a sufficient force to reduce the rebels to obedience. The expedition was successful, and Gheias was returning triumphant to his capital, when the accidental falling of a temporary pavilion, which had been erected by his son at a short distance from the city, for the purpose of receiving him with honour on his return, put a period to his existence, after a brief reign of two years. He was succeeded by the prince whose unfortunate attention had been the means of shortening the life of a very excellent sovereign, and also of exposing himself to the suspicion of a most detestable crime. This prince was Mohammed the Third, whose turbulent reign presents one continued succession of misfortunes, occasioned by his violence and folly; his conduct, on most occasions, evincing a degree of intemperance that bordered on insanity. Yet in the early part of his reign he gained popularity by his munificence, giving, liberally, pensions to the learned, and providing for the infirm and indigent by building hospitals and alms-houses on an extensive scale, and endowing them with funds for their support.

But the benefits arising from these good deeds were counteracted by misgovernment, and the evils attendant upon the prosecution of the wildest dreams of ambition, by which his treasures were exhausted, and his armies destroyed.

Among these visionary schemes, the conquest of China was one of the most calamitous, as well as the most absurd, for although Kublai Khan had been dead some years, the Empire was scarcely less powerful and extensive than when it was under the dominion of that great prince. The consequence of Mohammed's folly was, that his army was met on the frontiers of China, and nearly annihilated by the superior forces of the Mogul Emperor; and those who survived the battle were cut off in their way back by hostile tribes of mountaineers; so that very few individuals of the many thousands that had been sent on that ill-advised expedition returned to tell the fatal tale of its result.

The king had wasted so much money in various fruitless enterprises, that his resources began to fail, which led to the most ruinous consequences; for he attempted to recruit his treasury by issuing copper tokens, in imitation of the paper money instituted for the convenience of trade by Kublai Khan, in China. But the case was altogether different, for the Chinese Emperor was rich, and his credit good, so that his notes were taken without hesitation; whereas Mohammed being poor, his copper tokens, to which a nominal value was attached, were in reality worth no more than the intrinsic value of the metal; besides which, they could be very easily imitated; and forgery was committed to such an extent, that many persons, chiefly bankers and great merchants, made large fortunes by coining; while the manufacturers and traders, who were obliged to take the tokens at their nominal worth, in exchange for their goods, were entirely ruined. Insurrections broke out in every part of the country, but more particularly in Bengal, the greatest manufacturing province of Hindūstan, where all the finest muslins and cottons had been made from the earliest times, and where the silk manufacture was also carried on to a considerable extent.

The agriculturists suffered equally with the manufacturers, by the increase of their taxes, which became so intolerable, that in many districts they set fire to their villages, abandoned their fields, and took up their abode in the woods and jungles,

where they built huts for their families, and lived by robbery. At length, the governor of Bengal headed a general revolt, and the whole of that extensive province was separated from the kingdom of Delhi, and remained a separate state for nearly two hundred years. Some of the Rajas of Southern India also recovered their independence, and re-established the ancient Hindū kingdoms of Carnata and Telingana, on the coast of Coromandel.

The Raja of the Carnatic founded a new dynasty, and fixed his capital at Bijayanagur, which stands near the fortress and town of Bellary, the head-quarters of a British civil and military establishment in the ceded districts of Balaghaut. Bijayanagur was in the days of its grandeur a very extensive city, said to have been about twenty-four miles in circumference, but it is now not a third of that size; and in consequence of its ruined condition, a great part of it is uninhabited. It is very remarkably situated in a plain enclosed by huge irregular masses of granite, of which immense blocks, in some places piled above each other to a considerable height, are scattered over the whole surface of the area that formed the site of the old city. Some of the streets communicate with each other by passages between these rocky fragments, and one of the principal thoroughfares is under a covered way formed by them.

The ancient battlements and gateways are still entire, and many temples, with choultries, or houses of entertainment for travellers, are seen on the most conspicuous eminences; the walls, pillars, and even the flat roofs of some of the ancient buildings being composed of granite. There is a temple dedicated to Rama, another to Crishna, and one in the centre of the city to Vishnu, in which there is a chariot cut out of a solid block of granite, on which the image of the god is placed on holidays. Most of the idols in the numerous temples around Bijayanagur are of the same rough stone; some of them are colossal figures, from twelve to sixteen feet in height, but of very rude workmanship, being like most specimens of Hindū art, as regards sculpture, more remarkable for their gigantic proportions than for elegance of shape or skilful execution.

The tyranny of the sultan was augmented by the failure of his schemes and his losses of territory; and among other acts

of oppression he transferred his court from Delhi to Deogiri, obliging all the principal inhabitants to remove to the new capital, the name of which he changed to Dowlatabad, or the Fortunate City. Here he completed the famous fortress that stands on an isolated mountain of granite, the outside of which is cut smooth and perpendicular, to the height of one hundred and eighty feet, so that there is no possibility of reaching the fort but by a winding passage cut within the rock. Delhi suffered materially in consequence of the compulsory removal of all the most wealthy and useful of its inhabitants, many of whom were ruined by this unwise act; but the city was afterwards restored to its former prosperity under the Mogul princes, and was the capital of their empire until its fall.

Mohammed died in 1351, when he was succeeded by his nephew Feroze, whose long reign was distinguished by a great number of useful public works, executed under his superintendence, and maintained by his munificence. They consisted of mosques, colleges, caravanserais, hospitals, and public baths, besides aqueducts, wells, and reservoirs for irrigating the lands. It was this prince who constructed a fine canal running through the province of Delhi, from the river Jumna to that of Caggur, intended for the purposes of irrigation, but neglected after his death, and entirely disused until of late, when about two hundred miles of it have been reopened by the British government, and thus contributed to fertilise a vast tract of country which before was lying waste. It also serves to float down rafts of timber from the mountains, and to turn mills for grinding corn, which were not used in India in the time of Feroze.

It was not long after the death of that prince, who had reigned thirty-seven years, that the great Mogul chief, Tamerlane, already master of Persia and Transoxiana, entered Hindūstan, and marched direct towards Delhi, which had again become the capital, leaving behind him the usual melancholy traces of his progress—smoking ruins, desolated fields, and deserted villages. Mahmud, the young king of Delhi, fought a battle with the Moguls near that city, but, being defeated, fled to Guzerat, when the citizens immediately surrendered, and Tamerlane was proclaimed emperor of India; but the submission of the people of Delhi did not save them from slavery, ruin, or death; for the fierce barbarian soldiers broke into the

houses in search of plunder, and seized many of the women and children, whom they could always sell for slaves. These outrages being resisted led to a general massacre, and the streets of Delhi presented a frightful picture of Mogul warfare. Tamerlane departed with the name of emperor, but Delhi was for some time without any real head, and many chiefs who had been subject to its kings, took the opportunity of establishing their independence; so that when the government was restored in the capital, nothing was left to the monarch but the territories immediately surrounding it.

After the death of Timur, some of the former possessions of the kings of Delhi were recovered by the princes of the house of Lodi, an Afghan race, who occupied the throne during the latter half of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, when Sultan Baber, a descendant of Timur, became sovereign of the country that had been conquered but not ruled by his great ancestor, and established that powerful monarchy usually termed the Mogul Empire, in India. Baber was the grandson of a prince whose dominions comprised the whole of Cabul, Balk, Bokhara, and Samarcand, with several smaller states, which, at his death, were shared amongst many sons, one of whom, the father of the young hero in question, inherited a small but beautiful territory called Ferghana, in Independent Tartary, to which Baber succeeded when he was only twelve years of age. It was not long before he was dispossessed of his inheritance by one of his more powerful relatives, when he sought refuge among the mountain tribes, and became the youthful leader of a small band of adventurers, who followed him in many a romantic enterprise, and by whose help he made several conquests, which he had not sufficient power to preserve. For some years he led a perilous life, and experienced numerous vicissitudes, sometimes being at the head of a gallant band, sometimes a solitary wanderer destitute of the means of subsistence, and often compelled to hide himself in caves or jungles from the pursuit of his enemies.

At length it happened that the throne of Cabul was seized by a chief who had no claim to it, which afforded Baber an opportunity for attempting to possess it himself, an adventure well suited to his enterprising disposition. Having succeeded in deposing the usurper, he ascended the throne of Cabul in the year 1504, and had reigned over that kingdom twenty-two

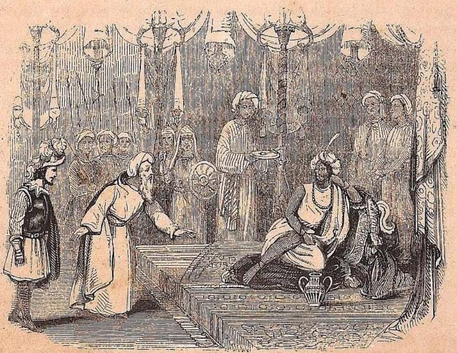
years, when his attention was drawn towards Hindūstan, in consequence of the disturbed state of that country, and the weakness of its government, which was harassed by constant insurrections. The Sultan Ibrahim was unpopular; the governors of some of the provinces had thrown off their allegiance, and several of the native chiefs were in rebellion, when Bāber marched against Delhi, in 1526, where a battle was fought, in which Ibrahim was slain; and thus ended the last of the Afghan or Patan dynasties which had occupied the throne of Delhi for three hundred years. The city was immediately surrendered to the conqueror, as was also Agra, which had lately been the royal residence, and the King of Cabul mounted the throne of Delhi, and became the founder of the greatest empire ever established in India.

PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

It was during the early career of Baber, that the Portuguese, whose great maritime discoveries were beginning to produce an important revolution in the commercial world, accomplished the long-desired object of finding a sea-passage, by the Cape of Good Hope, to India; and they landed at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1498.

The western coast of Southern India at this time consisted of Cambay and Calicut, the latter an extensive territory reaching from Bombay to Cape Comorin, and governed by a prince, called the Zamorin, or King of Kings, who was considered a very powerful monarch, in that part of the country, and who reckoned among his dependents the princes of several tributary states. The Zamorin was a Hindū, but he had many Mohammedan subjects, for the merchants of Egypt and Arabia had long been in the habit of trading to Calicut, and many natives of those countries resided in the city. To them, the arrival of strangers who came for the avowed purpose of sharing in their lucrative commerce, could not be very agreeable, therefore they determined, from the first, to oppose them.

The leader of the European expedition was Vasco de Gama, who was admitted to an interview with the sovereign, whose residence was a fortified palace or citadel, covering a large space of ground, surrounded by a wall which enclosed extensive gardens and pleasure grounds. De Gama and his attendant officers were carried in palanquins to the gates of the palace, where they were received by a venerable Bramin, who led them through several large halls to the state apartment, where the Zamorin was reclining on a low couch, placed on the dais, or raised part of the floor, which was covered with a rich carpet. On one side of the couch stood an attendant with



Reception of Vasco de Gama.

a gold plate, containing the betel leaf, which is constantly chewed by Hindūs of rank, who esteem it a great luxury; and on the other side was a large golden vase, placed there for the purpose of receiving the leaf when all its juice had been extracted, as it is never swallowed. The prince was dressed in a robe of fine white muslin, and a silk turban, both splendidly embroidered with gold. His arms and legs were without clothing, but were ornamented with a great number of costly

bracelets, and his ears were adorned with long pendants of the finest diamonds. •When the visitors drew near, he merely raised his head a little from the embroidered cushion on which it rested, and made a sign to the Bramin, that the chief was to sit down on the step of the dais, the rest remaining standing; for it is not customary among the Hindūs to kneel to their princes, therefore strangers were not expected to do so. De Gama's credentials from the King of Portugal were very graciously received; but it was intimated to him that he ought to have brought a present, an omission he excused by saying, he had not expected to visit the dominions of so great a prince when he embarked on his voyage. The Zamorin appeared very much inclined to favour the views of the Europeans, by permitting them to form a settlement at Calicut; but the Mohammedans contrived to excite his suspicions that their ultimate object was to conquer the country, and he was led to sanction some acts of violence, which induced the commander, after loading his ships with spices, silks, and other produce of the country, to hasten his departure.

It was not long, however, before another expedition arrived from Portugal, under the command of Cabral, who reached Calicut in the month of September, 1500, and was met by a friendly message from the Zamorin, inviting him to land; but as he did not feel entire confidence in the good faith of a Hindū prince, he adopted the precaution of stipulating that four Bramins of high rank should be sent on board his ship as hostages; and, after some negotiation, this demand was complied with. A building for the audience, which Cabral calls a gallery, was erected on the shore. It was hung with curtains of crimson velvet, and its floor was covered with carpets; and there the admiral, being duly prepared with presents, met with a most gracious reception, and, what was of still more consequence, obtained permission to build a factory at Calicut.

In the mean time, the hostages, who had evinced the utmost horror at being detained on board strange vessels, where they had no means of performing their customary rites, and who would not eat of the food offered to them, were soon reduced to such a deplorable condition, that they were removed from the ships, and were landed on an unfrequented part of the coast, that it might not be known they were released.

The factory was speedily erected, and the Portuguese began to trade with the natives; but the Mohammedans soon renewed their hostilities, and, making a sudden attack on the new building, overpowered the inmates, many of whom were killed, whilst the rest sought shelter on board their vessels. The factory was completely plundered, and the Portuguese, after destroying several merchant ships belonging to the assailants, and firing on the town, which, being chiefly built of wood, was set on fire in many places, took their departure. Cabral at first thought of applying to the Zamorin for redress, but, hearing that he had taken a large share of the spoil, concluded that he had countenanced the outrage. He therefore sailed away for Cochin, the capital of a small state on the coast of Malabar, governed by a native prince, who was then subject to the Zamorin of Calicut, but is now tributary to the British government in India.

Cochin is a beautiful and fruitful country, abounding in those rich productions of nature peculiar to an eastern clime. The villages are often embowered in groves of luxuriant mango trees and lofty palms; while the Ghaut mountains, which form the eastern boundary of the state, are covered with forests of teak, and other fine timber trees, from which the raja derives a considerable part of his revenue. The teak, which is in great demand at Bengal for ship-building, is one of the largest of the Indian trees, towering even above the tallest palm. Its leaves often measure twenty inches in length, and twelve in breadth, and it bears a small white fragrant flower. Mangoes and tamarinds are usually planted at the building of a village, as they help to supply the people with food, as well as to afford an agreeable shade from the intense heat of the sun. The people of Cochin cultivate rice in their well-watered valleys, and, like the Chinese, obtain two crops in the year. There were many Jews in the capital, which, next to Calicut, was the greatest trading city on the Malabar coast.

The king of Cochin, whose name was Triumpara, was a vassal of the Zamorin, but had long been desirous of shaking off his dependence on that prince, consequently was very willing to form an alliance with any people likely to aid him in that design. But Cabral, on mature deliberation, determined to defer all hostilities with the Zamorin, and set

sail for Lisbon with an understanding that, if the king of Portugal should send out an expedition against Calicut, the Raja of Cochin might be regarded as an ally. A powerful fleet was immediately equipped for a new voyage to India, to demand redress for the injuries that had been sustained, and to establish, if possible, a permanent settlement. De Gama was appointed to the command, and on arriving at Calicut, declared he was come either to obtain satisfaction for the treatment his countrymen had experienced, or to avenge their wrongs; and sent a message to that effect to the Zamorin; but not receiving an answer so soon as he expected, he executed the latter threat in a barbarous manner, by putting to death fifty unoffending natives who had been seized on the coast.

It was by such disgraceful acts of cruelty as these, that the Portuguese frequently sullied their conquests in the east; for in those days, when the chief object of distant voyages was to obtain possession, by force, of newly-discovered countries, the greater number of those who engaged in such adventures were men of desperate fortunes and daring character. De Gama, however, did not succeed in effecting a settlement at Calicut,

Calicut.

but was allowed to build a factory at Cochin, where he left some troops to protect the King Triumpara, his faithful ally;

and having captured several vessels, richly laden, he returned to Europe with the spoils.

As soon as the Portuguese were gone, the Zamorin resolved to punish his disobedient vassal, the King of Cochin, for having permitted the foreigners to establish a trading station in his capital, and with that intent he soon appeared with a large army at the gates of the city, on which the king hastily summoned his councillors, who advised him to make submission to the offended monarch, his liege lord; but Triumpara declared he would rather die than accede to the Zamorin's demands, which were to break off his alliance with the Portuguese and deliver up all of that nation who had remained in Cochin.

Deserted by most of his nobles and chief Bramins, who had all fled in terror, the brave prince, with a small band of faithful adherents, defended the principal approach to his capital; but being overpowered by numbers, he at length gave up the contest, and withdrew to the little island of Vipeen, a place held sacred by the Hindūs, to mourn over the loss of three sons who had fallen in the action. This unfortunate sovereign was restored to his throne by the great Albuquerque, who arrived with reinforcements from Europe, and soon forced the Zamorin to abandon Cochin; but Triumpara seems to have been disgusted with the cares of royalty, for, not long afterwards, he resigned his dignity to his nephew, and, assuming the habit of a faquir, passed the rest of his life in solitude.

It is needless to enter into the particulars of the long struggle that ensued, or the horrors that attended the conquests of the Portuguese, who, in a very few years, were firmly established in the south of India, and in possession of the large maritime city of Goa, which they took in 1510, and where they formed a regular government, headed by a viceroy appointed by the King of Portugal; and this city has ever since been the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India. Goa was the chief city of a territory on the coast of the province of Bijapur, and was one of the states formerly attached to the crown of Delhi, but had become independent during the troubles that caused so many revolutions in the time of Mohammed the Third.

The Zabaim was absent, engaged in war with a neighbour-

ing prince, when the Portuguese, led by the celebrated Albuquerque, attacked the city, which was surrendered without opposition, as the citizens had no efficient means of defence. The commander, who bore the title of Viceroy, acted with great moderation on this occasion towards the inhabitants, whose property was left untouched, and many of whom were permitted to retain their civil offices; while the Viceroy took possession of the palace, and assumed the character of a great potentate. The Zabaim made great efforts to recover the city, from which the intruders were at one time expelled, but they regained possession, after a desperate conflict in the streets; and in the end the Portuguese supremacy was fully established.

Albuquerque kept his court with all the splendour of an eastern prince, and secured his conquest by erecting extensive fortifications around it. He exercised his authority with mildness, formed alliances with several of the native princes, and endeavoured to create a friendly feeling between his own people and those of the country, by promoting marriages between the Portuguese soldiers and the Hindū maidens, by which means some of the principal Hindū families of Goa became attached to the Europeans. The brides were all obliged to embrace the Christian faith, and the descendants of these mixed marriages now form the greater part of the population of Goa.

Previously to the occupation of Goa, the Portuguese had made some conquests in the territories of the kings of Cambay and Guzerat, and built factories and forts on several parts of the coast; but they never obtained any possessions in the interior of the country, their real sovereignty being on the seas, where they were sufficiently powerful, for more than a century, to keep all the trade of the east in their own hands; while they were enabled to repel the attacks of hostile princes, by the aid of those with whom they maintained friendly alliances.

The Portuguese, with wonderful rapidity, built up a splendid empire. Besides Calicut, they had establishments at Diu, Onar, Salsett, Bombay, &c. The whole of the Malabar coast was in fact subject to them, and they soon extended their sway over the remote regions of Malacca. Without chart or pilot these bold navigators visited Japan, where they founded other

settlements, and ventured among all the dangerous archipelagoes of the Indian Ocean and Chinese seas. Albuquerque had within him the same elements which afterwards formed a Dupleix, a Bussy, a Clive, and a Warren Hastings. But he had scarcely one successor worthy of him, and the Portuguese empire in the East fell into decrepitude and decay almost as quickly as it had risen from nothing. Many causes contributed to this rapid decline. They introduced the Inquisition, they became indolent, and they too much mingled their own blood with that of the Indians. A degenerate and still degenerating offspring was the consequence of these intermarriages. Then after a time the mother country fell into tribulation and weakness, and was unable to resist Spain, who annexed it to her own dominions, and retained possession of it for the space of sixty years.

All such of the Mohammedan conquerors as had possessed themselves of any portion of the Malabar coast were excessively jealous of the Portuguese—a people from the extremities of the West of Europe—coming to the East, not only to rob them of their valuable commerce, but also to deprive them of their territories. A fierce war broke out as soon as the Portuguese commenced erecting factories. They soon found that they never could command those seas, or any part of those coasts, until they should have expelled the Mussulmans from Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, from Ormus on the Persian Gulf, and from Malacca near the Straits of Singapore—all important places, which commanded the trade of India. Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy, defeated the Mussulmans in two great naval engagements; utterly destroyed the navy of Calicut, the capital of Zamorin; disconcerted the formidable league of the princes of Malabar; and erected a strong fort on an island, which was so advantageously situated that it enabled him to command the whole coast and to cut off nearly every ship. A good foundation—but only a foundation—was laid when the great Albuquerque arrived in the county. This Portuguese hero immediately fixed his eye on the city of Goa, situated on an island of remarkable beauty and fertility, with a magnificent harbour and many sheltered islands and islets lying round it. Goa was then occupied by a Mohammedan prince, who had obtained it in the following manner:—The King of Bisnagor, one of the principal sovereigns of Malabar, being at war with the King of the Deckan, was so irritated at seeing the Moors furnishing cavalry to his

adversary, that he ordered the King of Onar, his vassal, to exterminate all the Mussulmans who were dwelling within his states. The King of Onar massacred a great many of the Mohammedans; but all those of the religion who escaped death took refuge on the beautiful island, built the city of Goa, and fortified it. The foundation of the city dates from 1479. The city rose in the form of an amphitheatre, about the magnificent port, which is naturally defended by the promontories or peninsulas of Salsett and Barbares. Hossein, the first king or chief of these refugees, was dead, and he was succeeded by his son Idalcan, who was aiming at an extension of territory, and had thus excited the enmity of most of the neighbouring princes, when Albuquerque arrived to attack him. The King of Onar aided the Portuguese with ships and troops, and Goa was carried by assault. Idalcan, however, collected a good force, returned to the city, and retook it before the Portuguese had time to fortify themselves in it. This possession, however, lasted only a few months. Albuquerque returned in force, stormed the city a second time, and then drove Idalcan out of all his territories. Goa became the capital of the Portuguese Indian Empire in 1579. The conquerors neglected nothing that might contribute either to its defence or to its embellishment. At the end of the sixteenth century Goa might have been compared to some of the finest of European cities. It attracted the whole commerce of Cochin and Calicut.

At nearly every move Albuquerque was aided by the dissensions of the native Indian princes, who were always either fighting or intriguing against one another. After some vain attempts at resistance the Zamorin sent ambassadors to demand peace. The King of Bisnagor, the most powerful of those princes, formed an alliance with the Portuguese viceroy, and submitted to his will in all things except religion. After he had secured the distant Malacca, Albuquerque turned his arms against Ormus. Presenting himself before that place with a fleet, he employed both arms and stratagem to make himself master of it. The Persian chief gave in, and delivered hostages to the Portuguese. Thus Ormus, one of the keys of the commerce of India and Persia, remained in the hands of the strangers from the West. Even the Shah or Emperor of Persia, sinking his pride in his fears, sent an ambassador to Albuquerque. This great man died at Goa, the seat of his

glory and of the oriental power of his sovereign. He had performed wonders with forces that were always, in point of numbers, below mediocrity. At his first starting, the paucity of his means somewhat resembled those which were at the disposal of Lord Clive when he commenced his career of conquest. Albuquerque was an administrator as well as a warrior: he left all the establishments he had founded in admirable order. He was a beneficent ruler, and refrained from oppressing the vanquished by those exactions to which they were forced to submit under his successors.

It was in the year following the death of Albuquerque that the Portuguese, proceeding from their factory and fort of Malacca, made their first voyage to China, and found their way to Canton; an important event in the history of the world, as being the commencement of a direct intercourse between Europe and the Celestial Empire. Malacca became the centre of the commerce between India, China, Java, Sumatra, and all those vast and fertile islands of the East. It was on account of its advantageous situation that Albuquerque resolved at all costs to possess himself of Malacca. The place has fallen into comparative insignificance; but, guided by the same views as Albuquerque, England has founded Singapore, on the same peninsula and at a short distance from the Portuguese Malacca, and through Singapore we possess the advantages which formerly belonged to Portugal.

In less than sixty years the Portuguese founded a colossal power in Asia. In the north it extended to the coast of Persia, comprising the navigation of the Persian Gulf. There a crowd of little Arab princes paid tribute to the crown of Portugal; others were its allies; all respected and feared it. From the mouths of the Indus to Cape Comoran, these new lords of the East held at their will nearly all the maritime towns that were of any importance. Daman, situated on a peninsula, at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, was theirs; and Bombay, at a short distance from Daman, offered their fleets a safe asylum in its convenient harbour. They possessed the town of Chout, situated near the mouth of a fine river in a most fertile plain, and having many prosperous villages under its jurisdiction. This place became the seat of industry and of a flourishing trade. The peninsula of Salsett was soon covered with fifty large thriving villages, for the natives flocked to seek shelter for property and security of life under the standard of Portu-

gal. The city of Onar, originally the capital of one of the Malabar princes, was at first a tributary, but afterwards a Portuguese colony. For many years it increased in population and riches. Cananor, on the same coast, was a large and populous city when it fell into their hands: the surrounding territory produced an immense quantity of rice. The Portuguese built a citadel, which rendered them absolute masters of the trade; but they certainly did not then oppress the people by fiscal regulations, for here too the native population increased. Calicut, the famous capital of the Zamorin, the first place in India at which the Portuguese landed after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, was also strengthened by a fort built according to European rules, and surrounded by strong walls. Granganor, the capital of an Indian state or principality of that name, was fortified in the like manner; and close to it was built a new city, which rapidly became one of the finest in those parts of the world. The kingdom of Cochin had two capitals, one of which remained to the natives, while the Portuguese held the other, which was called Cochin city, and was situated near the mouth of another river. It appears to have been here that the Portuguese made their first commercial establishments. The town attained to a remarkable degree of prosperity and luxury. It was considered as a little palace of the East. It passed into a proverb—"If you would make money, go to China; if you would spend it, go to Cochin."

On that same western coast, between the Indus and Cape Comoran, was the little kingdom of Malabar, of which the capital was in the hands of the Portuguese. On the opposite coast of Coromandel, the Portuguese possessed Negapatnam and St. Thome, built on the ruins of Meliapoor, formerly the capital of a powerful kingdom. These two places enabled them to command the navigation of the great Bay of Bengal, and to carry on a more direct commerce with the countries and islands beyond the straits of Malacca.

It was the progress made by these most enterprising men that the vast Indian coasts became at last well known to Europeans. The Arabs, and some of our voyagers of the middle ages, had vaguely described isolated points of the Malabar coast and some few countries in the interior; but the Portuguese were the first to give us a surer and ample information. Instead of fragments about India, they presented us with a whole, laying before our eyes a general picture of the im-

mense peninsula. Through them we became acquainted with the whole of Guzerat, where at Diu they built a fortress, and opened a trade with Arabia, Persia, and the neighbouring countries. In the interior of the peninsula they had their friends and allies among native princes, who gave them liberty to trade. The Raja of Camara was as one of their vassals. They were the first to ascertain the existence of the kingdom of Orissa—though many centuries before their time the Romans had derived rice and the very name of the grain from that country.*

Wherever the Portuguese went they were struck with the natural fertility of the country and the variety and magnificence of its productions. These have now been for a long time proverbial.

The forests of India contain many timber trees, among which the teak is, for ship-building, and most other purposes, at least equal to the oak. The Sál is a lofty and useful timber tree. Sandal, ebony, and other beautiful highly-prized woods are found in different quantities, but often in profusion. Banyan-trees, cotton-trees, sissoo (or black-wood) trees, mangoes, tamarinds, and other ornamental and useful trees are scattered over the cultivated parts of the country. Mulberry-trees are planted in vast numbers, and are the means of furnishing a large supply of silk. The bábul (mimosa arabica, or gum arabic trees), with its sweet-scented yellow flower, grows in profusion, both in the woods and open plains, as do also two kinds of acacia and various other flowering trees. The cocoa, palmyra, talipot, and other stately palm-trees are common. The first of these, as is well known, yields a nut filled with milky fluid, and lined with a thick coating of kernel, which is serviceable as food, and on account of the oil which is manufactured from it to an immense extent. The cocoa-nut shell is used for cups and other vessels, of which some are in universal use. The thick husk, in which the nut is enveloped, is composed of fibres, which form a valuable cordage, and make the best sort of cable, being at once very light, very elastic, and very strong. The wood of the cocoa, though not capable of being employed in carpenter's work, is peculiarly adapted to pipes for conveying water, beams for broad but

* Tissana Orissæ, Horace.

light wooden bridges, and to other purposes, where length is more required than solidity. The bamboo, which grows almost everywhere, being hollow, light, and strong, is as generally useful; when entire, the varieties in its size make it equally fit for the lance of the soldier, for the pole of his tent, or for the mast which supports the banner of his chief: the peasant uses it alike for his ordinary staff and for the rafters of his cottage. All scaffolding in India is composed of bamboos, kept together by ropes. When split, its long and flexible fibre adapts it to baskets, mats, and innumerable other purposes; and when cut across at the joints, it forms bottles or jugs often used for oil, milk, spirits, &c. Mr. Forbes has dwelt eloquently on the cocoa, and on that natural wonder of India, the Banian fig-tree.

"Of all the gifts which Providence has bestowed on the Oriental world, the cocoa-nut tree most deserves our notice. In this single production of nature, what blessings are conveyed to man! It grows in a stately column, from thirty to fifty feet in height, crowned by a verdant capital of waving branches, covered with long spiral leaves; under this foliage, branches of blossoms, clusters of green fruit, and others arrived at maturity, appear in mingled beauty. The trunk, though porous, furnishes beams and rafters for our habitations; and the leaves, when plaited together, make an excellent thatch, common umbrellas, coarse mats for the floor, and brooms; whilst their finest fibres are woven into very beautiful mats for the rich. The covering of the young fruit is extremely curious, resembling a piece of thick cloth, in a conical form, close and firm as if it came from the loom; it expands after the fruit has burst through its inclosure, and then appears of a coarser texture. The nuts contain a delicious milk and a kernel, sweet as the almond: this, when dried, affords abundance of oil; and when that is expressed, the remains feed cattle and poultry, and make a good manure. The shell of the nut furnishes cups, ladles, and other domestic utensils; while the husk which incloses it is of the utmost importance: it is manufactured into ropes and cordage of every kind, from the smallest twine to the largest cable, which are far more durable than those of hemp. In the Nicobar islands, the natives build their vessels, make the sails and cordage, supply them with provisions and necessaries, and

provide a cargo of arrack, vinegar, oil, jaggree (a wholesome and nourishing coarse sugar), cocoa-nuts, coir, cordage, black paint, and several inferior articles for foreign markets, entirely from this tree." He adds, that "the Asiatics celebrated, either in verse or prose, the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skilfully applied. Many of the trees are not permitted to bear fruit; but the embryo bud, from which the blossoms and nuts would spring, is tied up, to prevent its expansion; and a small incision being then made at the end, there oozes in gentle drops a cool pleasant liquor, called Sarce, or Toddy—the palm-wine of the poets. This, when first drawn, is cooling and salutary; but when fermented and distilled, produces an intoxicating spirit. Thus, a plantation of cocoa-nut trees yields the proprietor a considerable profit, and generally forms part of the government revenue. The cocoa-nut tree delights in a flat sandy soil, near the sea, and must be frequently watered; while the palmyras, or brab-trees, grow on hills and rocky mountains. These also abound in our small island, as well as the date-tree; but the fruit of the latter seldom attains perfection. These trees are of the same genus, though differing according to their respective classes: they all produce the palm-wine, and all generally included under the name of palms, or palmetos. Their leaves are used instead of paper by the natives on the Malabar coast and the inhabitants of the Carnatic.

"'Stretched amid these orchards of the sun,
Where high palmetos lift their grateful shade,
Give me to drain the cocoa's milky bowl,
And from the palm to draw its freshening wine;
More bounteous far than all the frantic juice
Which Bacchus pours!'

"The banian, or burr-tree (*Ficus indica*, Lin.), is equally deserving our attention, from being one of the most curious and beautiful of nature's productions in that genial climate, where she sports with so much profusion and variety. Each tree is in itself a grove, and some of them are of an amazing size; as they are continually increasing, and, contrary to most other animal and vegetable productions, seem to be exempted from decay; for every branch from the main body

throws out its own roots, at first in small tender fibres, several yards from the ground, which continually grow thicker, until by a gradual descent they reach its surface, where, striking in, they increase to a large trunk, and become a parent tree, throwing out new branches from the top: these in time suspend their roots, and, receiving nourishment from the earth, swell into trunks, and shoot forth other branches; thus continuing in a state of progression so long as the first parent of them all supplies her sustenance. A banian-tree, with many trunks, forms the most beautiful walks, vistas, and cool recesses that can be imagined. The leaves are large, soft, and of a lively green; the fruit is a small fig, when ripe of a bright scarlet, affording sustenance to monkeys, squirrels, peacocks, and birds of various kinds, which dwell among the branches. The Hindūs are peculiarly fond of this tree: they consider its long duration, its outstretching arms, and over-shadowing beneficence, as emblems of the Deity, and almost pay it divine honours. The Brahmins, who thus "find a fane in every sacred grove," spend much of their time in religious solitude under the shade of the banian-tree: they plant it near the dewals, or Hindū temples (improperly called pagodas); and in those villages where there is no structure for public worship, they place an image under one of these trees and perform a morning and evening sacrifice. These are the trees under which a sect of naked philosophers, called Gymnosophists, assembled in Ælian's days; and this historian of ancient Greece gives us a true picture of the modern Hindūs: 'In winter the Gymnosophists enjoy the benefit of the sun's rays in the open air; and in summer, when the heat becomes excessive, they pass their time in cool and moist places, under large trees; which, according to the accounts of Nearchus, cover a circumference of five acres, and extend their branches so far that ten thousand men may easily find shelter under them.' There are none of this magnitude at Bombay; but on the banks of the Nerbudda I have spent many delightful days with large parties, on rural excursions, under a tree supposed by some persons to be that described by Nearchus, and certainly not at all inferior to it.

"High floods have at various times swept away a considerable part of this extraordinary tree; but what still remains is near two thousand feet in circumference, measured round the

principal stems; the over-hanging branches, not yet struck down, cover a much larger space; and under it grow a number of custard-apple and other fruit trees. The large trunks of this single tree amount to three hundred and fifty, and the smaller ones exceed three thousand: each of these is constantly sending forth branches and hanging roots to form other trunks, and become the parents of a future progeny. This magnificent pavilion affords a shelter to all travellers, particularly to the religious tribes of Hindūs, and is generally filled with a variety of birds, snakes, and monkeys: the latter have often diverted me with their antic tricks, especially in their parental affection to their young offspring; by teaching them to select their food, to exert themselves in jumping from bough to bough, and then in taking more extensive leaps from tree to tree; encouraging them by caresses when timorous, and menacing and even beating them when refractory. Knowing by instinct the malignity of the snakes, they seem most vigilant in their destruction: they seize them when asleep by the neck, and, running to the nearest flat stone, grind down the head by a strong friction on the surface, frequently looking at it, and grinning at their progress. When convinced that the venomous fangs are destroyed, they toss the reptile to their young ones to play with, and seem to rejoice in the destruction of the common enemy. On a shooting party under this tree, one of my friends killed a female monkey, and carried it to his tent; which was soon surrounded by forty or fifty of the tribe, who, making a great noise, advanced towards it in a menacing posture: on presenting his fowling-piece, they retreated and appeared irresolute, but one, which from his age and station in the van seemed the head of the troop, stood his ground, chattering and menacing in a furious manner; nor could any efforts less cruel than firing drive him off; he at length approached the tent door, when, finding his threatenings were of no avail, he began a lamentable moaning, and by every token of grief and supplication seemed to beg the body of the deceased: on this it was given to him; with tender sorrow he took it up in his arms, embraced it with conjugal affection, and carried it off with a sort of triumph to his expecting comrades. The artless behaviour of this poor animal wrought so powerfully on the sportsmen that they resolved never more to level a gun at one of the monkey

race. The banian-tree I am now describing, is called by the Hindūs cubbeer-burr, in memory of a favourite saint, and was much resorted to by the English gentlemen from Baroche, which was then in a flourishing chiefship on the banks of the Nerbuddah, about ten miles from this celebrated tree. The chief was extremely fond of field diversion, and used to encamp under it in a magnificent style; having a saloon, dining-room, drawing-room, bedchamber, bath, kitchen, and every other accommodation, all in separate tents; yet did this noble tree cover the whole; together with his carriages, horses, camels, guards, and attendants; while its spreading branches afforded shady spots for the tents of friends, with their servants and cattle; and in the march of an army it has been known to shelter seven thousand men. Such is the banian tree, the pride of Hindūstan, which Milton has thus discriminately and poetically introduced into his Paradise Lost:*

> 'Then both together went
> Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose
> The fig-tree. Not that tree for fruit renowned,
> But such as at this day to Indians known
> In Malabar, or Deccan, spreads her arms,
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree; a pillar'd shade
> High overarched, and echoing walks between:
> There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
> Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds,
> At loopholes cut through thickest shade.'"

The wood of the palm tree is employed in much the same manner as that of the cocoa tree: its broad immense leaves are used for the thatch and even for the walls of cottages, and they are converted into fans and screens, and applied to sundry other uses; while the sap which it yields on incision supplies a great proportion of the spirituous liquor consumed in India. One species of palm (a very beautiful one) bears a nut, which, mixed with the pungent and aromatic leaf of the betel vine and the gum called catechu, is chewed by all classes throughout India. Sago is the produce of another kind of palm—the talipot, which thrives on the Malabar coast and is most numerous on the island of Ceylon.

* 'Oriental Memoirs,' vol. i.

The Mahua is a timber tree of the size of an oak ; it abounds in all the forests ; it produces a fleshy flower, from which also a great deal of spirit is distilled, while it is still more important as an article of food among the hill tribes.

The mountains of Hemalaya present a totally different vegetation. Here pines, oaks, and other forest trees of Europe, rhododendrons, and many other magnificent shrubs, abound, attaining very often to gigantic dimensions.

Pepper and cardamums grow in abundance on the western coast, and cinnamon in Ceylon : capsicum, ginger, cummin, coriander, turmeric, and various other spices are everywhere a common produce of the fields. The wildest hills are covered with a highly-scented grass, the essential oil of which is supposed to have been the spikenard of the ancients. Many Indian trees supply medicine, as camphor, cassia fistularis, aloes, &c. ; others yield useful resins, gums, and varnishes.

The woods are filled with trees and creepers bearing flowers of every form and hue ; while the oleander, gloriosa superba, and many other beautiful shrubs, grow wild in the open country. The lotus and water-lily float on the surface of the lakes and ponds. There are many other sweet-scented flowers, the perfume of which, though exquisite, is rather too powerful for Europeans.

Entire plains of considerable extent are covered with cotton, tobacco, and poppies for opium. In some places roses are grown over immense fields for atar and rosewater. The sugar-cane thrives wherever the soil is rich and well watered. Large tracts of land are given up to indigo, and many other more brilliant dyes are counted among the produce. Palma-christi, sesamum, mustard, flax, and other plants yield an ample supply of oil, which is used in the kitchen, in lamps and cressets and in manufactures.

The principal food of the people of Hindustan is wheat and in Deckan jowár (holcus sorgum) and bájra (holcus spicatus), two inferior grains. Rice as a general article of subsistence is confined to Bengal and part of Bahar, with the low countries along the sea, all round the coast of the peninsula. In most parts of the interior it is considered a luxury. In the southern part of the table-land of the Deckan, the body of the people live on a small and poor grain called rági (cynosurus corocanus).

Barley is little eaten, and oats till lately were unknown: but there are several smaller sorts of grain, such as millet, panicum italicum, and other kinds, for which we have no name. Maize is a good deal grown for the straw; and the heads, when young and tender, are toasted as in Italy and eaten as a delicacy by the common people; but Mr. Elphinstone doubts if the grain be ever ground and converted into bread.

There are many kinds of pulse, and a variety of roots and vegetables. Many fruits are accessible to the poor; especially mangoes, melons, and water-melons. Gourds and cucumbers are most abundant. They are sown round the huts of the poor, and trailed over the roofs, so that the whole building is often seen covered with green leaves and large yellow flowers. The mango, the best of Indian fruits, is likewise by much the most common, the tree which bears it being planted wherever there are men, and thriving without any further care. Plantains or bananas, guavas, custard-apples, jujubes, and other delicious tropical fruits are also cheap and common.

"The groves and gardens in Bombay and the adjacent continent supply the inhabitants with guavas, plantains, bananas, custard-apples, jacas, tamarinds, cashew-apples, ananas, jamboos, oranges, limes, citrons, grapes, and pomegranates: but the most useful, plentiful, and best fruit, is the mango (magnifera, Lin.), which grows abundantly all over Hindūstan, even in the forest and hedge-rows, on trees equal in size to a large English oak, but in appearance and foliage more resembling the Spanish chesnut: this valuable fruit varies in shape, colour, and flavour, as much as apples do in Europe: the superior kinds are extremely delicious; and in the interior resemble the large yellow peach at Venice, heightened by the flavour of the orange and anana: and so plentiful are mangos, in the hot season, throughout most parts of India, that during my residence in Guzerat, they were sold in the public markets for one rupee the culsey; or six hundred pounds in English weight, for half a crown: they are a delicacy to the rich, and a nutritious diet for the poor, who in the mango season require but little other sustenance.

"The anana, dignified by Thomson as the 'pride of vegetable life,' needs no description; nor have I ever tasted

pine-apples of a superior flavour in the torrid zone, to some produced in the English conservatories. The custard-apples, of two kinds, are pleasant fruits: the pompelmose, or shaddock (omlus aurantia, Indica) is much larger and more esteemed than the orange: the jaca (artocarpus integrifolia, Linn.) is of a prodigious size, growing from the trunk, and large branches of the tree; the fruit is luscious and of a powerful smell, with a seed resembling the chesnut: the guava (psidium, Linn.), shaped like a pear, has something of the strawberry flavour; some of the jambo-rosa, or rose-apple, have the scent and taste of the rose. The carambola, bilimbing, corinda, halfaluree, and some of the smaller fruits, are pleasant, particularly in tarts and preserves."*

Grapes are plentiful as a garden fruit, but are not planted for wine. Oranges, limes, and citrons are also in general use, and some sorts are excellent. Figs are not quite so general but are to be had in most places, and in some (as Púna, in the Deckan) they are perhaps the best in the world. Pine-apples are common everywhere, and grow wild in Pegu.

Horses, camels, and working cattle are fed on pulse. Their forage is chiefly wheat-straw and that of the jowár and bàjra, which being full of saccharine matter, is very nourishing. Horses get fresh grass dried in the sun; but it is only in particular places that hay is stacked.

There are in some places three harvests—in all two. Bájra, jowár, rice, and some other grains are sown at the beginning of the rains, and reaped at the end. Wheat, barley, and some other sorts of grain and pulse ripen during the winter, and are cut in spring.

Most people are tolerably familiar with the zoology of India. Elephants, rhinoceroses, bears, and wild buffaloes are confined to the forest. Tigers, leopards, panthers, and some other wild beasts are found there also, but likewise inhabit patches of underwood, and even of high grain in the cultivated lands. This is also the case with wild boars, hyenas, wolves, jackals, and game of all descriptions in the utmost abundance. Lions are only found in particular tracts. The lion of India is as inferior to the African lion as the Bengal tiger is superior to the tiger of Africa. The most exciting of all Indian sports is the tiger-hunt. These ferocious animals retreat before industry and cultivation; but in very many parts of the peninsula

* Forbes's 'Oriental Memoirs.'

they are still excessively numerous. This is particularly the case in the wild districts called the Sunderbunds, near the mouths of the Ganges. The tigers take freely to the water, and cross broad streams in pursuit of the little Indian deer, which seem to form their principal food during a considerable part of the year. Nearly all our works on India contain amusing descriptions of tiger hunting, and also of wild-boar hunting—another favourite pastime of Englishmen in the East. Great numbers of many sorts of deer and antelopes are met with in all parts. Monkeys are numerous in the woods, in the cultivated country, and even in towns. Porcupines, ichneumons, a species of armadillo, iguanas, and other lizards, are found in all places; as are serpents and other reptiles, noxious or innocent, in abundance.

There are horses in plenty, but they are only used for riding. For every sort of draught (ploughs, carts, guns, native chariots, &c.), and for carriage of all sorts of baggage and merchandise, almost the whole dependence is on oxen. The frequency of rugged passes in some parts, and the annual destruction of the roads by the rains in others, make the use of pack cattle much greater than that of draught cattle, and produce those innumerable droves which so often choke up the traveller's way, as they are transporting grain, salt, and other articles of commerce from one province to another.

Our cavalry is mounted almost entirely by Arab horses chiefly imported from the Persian Gulf. Most of the Indian breeds are undersized, obstinate, and excessively vicious. But very fine horses, of a good size, and with abundance of power and spirit, are imported from the banks of the Oxus, from various parts of the country occupied by the Turcomans. The Company's studs have done much and are now doing more to improve the native breeds.

Camels, which travel faster, and can carry more bulky loads, are much employed by the rich, and are numerous in armies. Elephants are also used, and are indispensable for carrying large tents, heavy carpets, and other articles which cannot be divided. Buffaloes are very numerous, but they are chiefly kept for milk, of which great quantities (in various preparations) are consumed: they are not unfrequently put in carts, are used for ploughing in deep and wet soils, and more rarely for carriage. Sheep are as common as in European countries, and goats more so. Swine are kept by the

lowest castes. Poultry are comparatively scarce, in small villages at least, from the prejudice of the Hindūs against fowls; but the common fowl is found in great numbers, and resembles the bantam kind. The peacock also is met with in a wild state. White cranes and egrettes are extremely numerous throughout the year; and grey cranes, wild geese, snipes, ortolans, and other birds of passage come in incredible numbers at their season. Eagles are found in some places, as are various kinds of falcons. Vultures are very common, and kites beyond number. Most English birds abound (except singing birds); besides parrots, or rather parroquets, and various birds of splendid plumage, for which we have not even names. Fish is abundant, and largely consumed in Bengal and some other countries.

Crocodiles are often seen both in rivers and large ponds.

None of the minerals of India have attracted attention except diamonds and iron. The steel of India was in request with the ancients: it is celebrated in the oldest Persian poem, and is still the material of the scymitars of Khorasan and Damascus. In several parts of India the natives display great skill as workers in metal. Arms of great beauty are found almost everywhere. Under European superintendence the Siks at Lahore turned out artillery which has never been surpassed and not often equalled. The casting and finishing of the cannon, the iron work of the carriages and the carriages themselves are splendid specimens of workmanship. Two of the many guns taken by Lord Hardinge, and which now grace the hall of his Lordship's residence at South Park, Penshurst, are the most beautiful and highly finished things of the sort we ever beheld. The men who worked on them must have been familiar with some processes with which our own workmen are as yet unacquainted. The inferior stones, &c., are found in considerable quantities. Most of the pearls in the world, and all the best, are taken up from beds near Ceylon. Rock-salt is found in a range of mountains in the Panjáb; and salt is made in large quantities from the water of the Sāmber Lake in Ajmir, and from that of the sea. Saltpetre is so abundant as to supply many other countries. "The conformation of the countries and the peculiarities of climate and seasons have great effect on military operations in India. The passes through the chains of hills that intersect the country regulate the direction of the roads, and often

fix the fields of battle. Campaigns are generally suspended during the rains, and resumed at the end of that season, when grain and forage are abundant. The site of encampments is very greatly affected by the supply of water, which must be easy of access to the thousands of cattle which accompany every army, chiefly for carriage. One party is often able to force his enemy into action, by occupying the water at which he intended to halt. A failure of the periodical rains brings on all the horrors of famine."*

Even since our dominion in the East these dreadful visitations have at times depopulated entire regions.

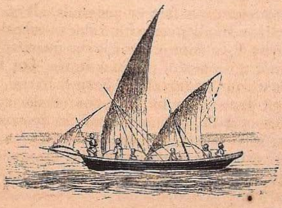
The dazzling display of diamonds and other precious stones, which were seen at every native court, in the time of our earlier travellers, must, in a great measure, have proceeded from importation. The Indians have always had a passion for such gems, and have always had commodities to give in exchange to foreign nations for their jewels. In the time of old François Bernier, when Shah Jehan sate on the throne of the Moguls, the palaces of Agra and Delhi were complete congeries of gold, silver, and precious stones. He thus describes the appearance of his majesty on a great court day:—"The emperor was seated on his throne, at the end of the great hall, most magnificently attired. His robe was of white satin, embroidered with flowers worked in gold and silk; his turban was of cloth of gold, and it was surmounted by an aigrette, covered with diamonds of astonishing size and value, and having in front an immense Oriental topaz, which shone like a little sun, and which may well be called unequalled in the world; a necklace of immense pearls descended from his neck to the lower part of his chest. His throne was supported by six enormous feet or pedestals, all of massy gold, and it was strewed all over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. Verily I cannot say what is the quantity or what the money-value of this mass of precious stones, but I have heard that they are worth 60,000,000 of French livres. The jewels were amassed from time to time out of the spoils of the ancient Patans and Rajas, and out of the presents which the great nobles are obliged, on certain festivals, to make to the sovereign. . . . . At the foot of the throne appeared all the omrahs, splendidly dressed, sitting on a platform covered

* Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 'History of India.'

with a canopy of cloth of gold, and inclosed in front by a balustrade of solid silver. The columns and pilasters of the hall were covered with cloth of gold; on the floor was spread a rich silk carpet of a size truly prodigious. In the outer court there was a most magnificent tent, covered with gold and silver, and supported by three pillars, as high as the masts of a ship, and all covered with silver plates. . . . . . At the audience, some of the omrahs presented beautiful gold vases inlaid with jewels; others presented exquisite pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies, and with a profusion that was quite astonishing." *

Much of this wealth has found its way into Europe, but much yet remains in India. Several of the native courts can display great magnificence, and many wealthy merchants and other private individuals collect great quantities of the most expensive gems. The Armenian ladies, who are occasionally invited to the parties of the Governor-General, carry on their persons more diamonds than are seen in the nations of the West, even among royalty. Even persons of comparatively humble condition will have their jewel-boxes. The very peasant's wife must have her armlets, bracelets, and anklets, and these are commonly either of silver or of gold. In the times of insecurity and almost constant intestine war which preceded the establishment of our power, gems were prized as being the safest investment of money, for they could easily be concealed or conveyed from place to place.

* Voyages de François Bernier, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier, contenant la Description des Etats du Grand Mogul, &c. Amsterdam, 1709.



THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

NO recorded conquest of India has been made at once or achieved with rapidity. It took the Moguls very many years to extend their dominion, and they never held the whole of the vast Peninsula. The emperor Báber was compelled to make a long halt at Delhi, and to proceed with great caution. He was the founder (A.D. 1526) of a line of kings under whom India rose to the highest pitch of prosperity, and out of the ruins of whose empire all the existing states in that country are composed. Báber's model was naturally Tamerlane, and where he met with resistance he was quite as unhuman as that conqueror. The smallness of his force was some justification of the means he adopted to strike a terror; but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him. His natural disposition appears to have been remarkably humane. Considered as a Mogul, he must always be held as an astonishing hero and enlightened prince. In spite of many adverse circumstances, he achieved greatness before he was twenty-three years of age, and he died when he was little more than fifty.

The unsettled, active, rapid nature of his life is shown by his observing, in the memoirs which he wrote near the end of it, that since he was eleven years old he had never kept the fast of the Ramazan twice in any one place. The time which he did not spend in war and travelling was occupied in hunting and other sports, or in long excursions on horseback. On his last journey, when his health was failing, he rode 160 miles in two days (from Calpí to Agra); and on the same journey he twice swam across the Ganges, as he had done at every other river he had met with. His mind was quite as active as his body; besides the business of the state, he was constantly taken up with roads, aqueducts, reservoirs and other improvements, and he devoted great attention to the introduction of new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Taken

altogether, his autobiography is one of the most delightful books of that kind—certainly the most delightful that ever proceeded from the pen of an Oriental prince, or from that of any other Asiatic whatsoever.*

Unfortunately, he utterly disregarded the injunction of the Koran, and drank wine to excess. This is believed to have shortened his life.

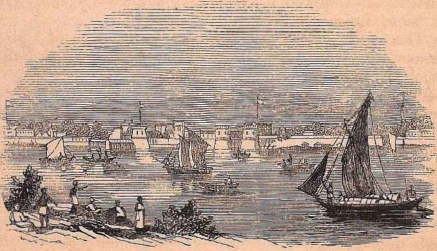
The very name of Mogul was so distasteful to the Hindū princes, as well as to the Patan omrahs or nobles, that Báber soon found it would be a difficult task to maintain the throne he had won; and, during his brief reign of five years, was constantly engaged in repressing the revolts of the numerous chiefs who united their forces against him. He had, therefore, but little leisure to organize any regular plan of government; but he succeeded in establishing his authority, by several signal victories, and reduced many of the hostile Rajput rulers to subjection; so that, at the time of his death, he was the acknowledged sovereign of nearly all the north of India. He was one of the most accomplished of the Eastern princes, being a poet, historian, and musician, of no ordinary merit; elegant, yet free in his manners, easy of access to his subjects, and fond of social enjoyments. He was so enthusiastic an admirer of the beauties of nature, that in the days of his adversity, when closely pursued by his enemies, he would pause in the midst of his flight to gaze on a beautiful landscape, or gather a simple flower; and his heart was so litile corrupted by ambition, that amidst all his prosperity, his thoughts would often turn to the home of his boyhood, the lovely valley of Ferghána, with all the warmth of youthful affection; and there were moments, perhaps, when he would have given up all his brilliant conquests and his high station, to recover that one beloved spot, which had long since fallen a prey to the Usbek Tartars. He died at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age and the thirty-eighth of his reign. His body was buried, by his own desire, at Cábul, and on a beautiful spot which it is probable he had himself selected. In the front of his grave there still stands a small but chaste mosque of white marble.

Báber was succeeded by his eldest son Humáyun, a prince of great literary attainments, whose court was celebrated for

* There is an excellent English translation of the Emperor Baber's Memoirs, by Erskine.

the number of learned men who there found liberal patronage. Scarcely was he seated on the throne, when his brother, Camran, who had been invested by his father with the government of Cábul, laid claim to that kingdom as his lawful inheritance; and it was ceded to him, with a large tract of country on the borders of the Indus: by which arrangement Cábul was separated from the crown of Delhi.

The new Sultan now turned his attention towards recovering some of the states that had formerly belonged to the kings of Delhi, and with that view invaded Guzerat, which, for nearly a century and a half, had been governed by its own independent sovereigns, and was one of the best cultivated and most fertile provinces of Hindūstan, producing cotton, sugar-cane, indigo, flax, and grain of various sorts, in abundance; while in many parts, the land that was not under culture, afforded rich pastures for cattle and horses. The cotton manufactures of Guzerat had long been in a very flourishing condition, and there was no part of India that carried on a more extensive foreign trade.



Surat.

Among the great commercial towns of this kingdom was Surat, famous for its manufacture of shawls, and one of the most ancient cities of Hindūstan. It is also remarkable as being the first place in the Mogul dominions where the British East India Company obtained a settlement, which was for a

long time their principal station. Another great port of Guzerat was Diu, the possession of which had long been ardently desired by the Portuguese, who had made several attempts to take it by force, but without success. At length their wishes were accomplished by other means, for when the Sultan of Delhi went to war with the king of Guzerat, the latter entered into a negotiation with the Portuguese, offering to let them build a factory at Diu, provided they would assist him to maintain his dominions against the Moguls; to which they readily consented, and sent a body of five hundred men to aid the monarch and establish the new settlement. The invaders were speedily driven from the kingdom, and a factory was erected, according to agreement; but when Bahadur found that his allies were fortifying their building, he naturally became alarmed, and sent a remonstrance to their chief commander, Nuño da Cunha, who proposed to settle the difference at a personal interview. There is no reason to suppose that the Portuguese premeditated any act of violence; but it seems that, in the heat of the dispute that took place, the king was stabbed by one of the officers; and several of his attendants, as well as some Europeans, also lost their lives in the confusion that ensued.

This unfortunate circumstance led to the siege of Diu, a memorable event in the history of the Portuguese in India, who defended their fort for a long time against a host of besiegers, consisting of all the forces of Guzerat, aided by seventy Turkish galleys, carrying a great number of cannons, and having on board seven thousand troops, commanded by the governor of Cairo. This armament was sent by Solyman the Magnificent, who was sovereign of Egypt as well as Turkey, and whose interest it was to protect the trade of his subjects in India from the encroachments of the Europeans.

The siege of Diu is remarkable for the extraordinary courage displayed by the Portuguese ladies within the fort, who appeared in the midst of the soldiers, undaunted by the roaring of the cannon, lent their aid in repairing the works, carried away the wounded as they fell, and revived the drooping spirits of the defenders by their own enthusiasm. At length reinforcements arrived from Goa, the fort was relieved and the town of Diu was added to the Portuguese possessions.

While these events were taking place at Guzerat, the Sultan

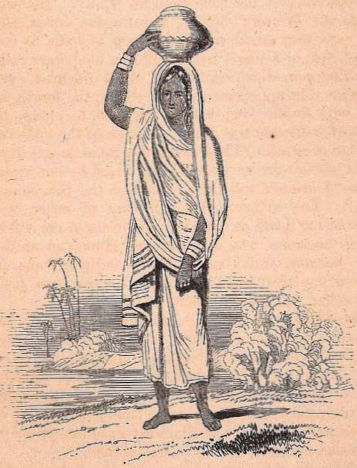
Humáyun was engaged in wars with several chiefs, who were opposed to the Mogul government. The most formidable of these enemies was Shír-khán, an Afghan chief, who had raised a large force in Bengal, and, with all the treachery of the Afghan character, offered to make peace with the Sultan; but while the negotiations were pending, suddenly attacked his camp, and put the whole army to flight, while Humáyun himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner by swimming across the Ganges on his elephant. A second defeat obliged him to seek safety by a precipitate retreat, accompanied by a few followers, and the females of his family. His course lay through the Western district, towards the Indus, where for three days they could not find a drop of water to cool their parched lips, or a single tree to afford a temporary relief from the blazing sun, which no friendly cloud obscured, even for a moment. The appearance of a well, on the fourth day, was hailed with frantic joy; but in the rush to obtain the first bucket of water that was drawn up, some of the soldiers fell in and were drowned. These were the same desert, dry, sandy regions which were so painfully traversed by our army under Viscount Hardinge and Lord Gough, in the Sik campaign of 1845–6. The suffering, through want of water, was most cruel, causing death or temporary delirium in not a few cases. Among the ladies who accompanied Humáyun on this calamitous journey, was Ḣamída, his favourite Sultana, and the mother of the great Sultan Akber, who was born just as the fugitives had reached the other side of the desert.

It was usual for a father, on the birth of an heir, to distribute presents to those around him; but Humáyun, who had nothing to give, broke a pod of musk and scattered its contents among his followers, wishing that the fame of his son might spread around like the odour of that perfume, a prayer in which all present heartily joined; and most amply was the wish accomplished in the brilliant career of one of the greatest princes that ever adorned an eastern throne.

In the mean time, the brothers of the Sultan had openly revolted, and Shír-khán had seized on the throne; while to add to the distresses of this unfortunate sultan, his infant son was carried off from his camp, to serve as a hostage in case of need. Surrounded thus by enemies, and overwhelmed with misfortunes, the unhappy monarch at length sought refuge in

Persia, where he was received and magnificently entertained at the court of Shah-Tahmas, the reigning sovereign.

The reign of Shír-khán was a very short one, as he was killed by the accidental explosion of a powder magazine, about five years after his usurpation. He displayed wonderful rapidity and a rare degree of ability in war: he may fairly be counted among the first of eastern soldiers. Some of his campaigns might be studied with advantage even by European



Water Girl.

strategists. Notwithstanding the treacherous manner in which he had obtained the throne, he proved an excellent sovereign, and ruled over a much larger extent of territory than was possessed by Humáyun, as many of the princes who

would not recognise the Mogul dynasty readily acknowledged the authority of an Afghan monarch; besides which, nearly the whole of Bengal was devoted to his interest before he ascended the throne of Delhi, and was consequently reunited to that empire. Shír-khán particularly distinguished himself by the formation of one of the finest high-roads that was ever made in the world. It extended entirely across the Hindūstan, from the Ganges, in Bengal, to the Indus; and was bordered, on each side, along its whole extent, with fruit-trees.

It was one of the duties of an oriental sovereign to provide for the accommodation of travellers in his dominions; and many caravanseries had been built, trees planted, and wells dug, for that purpose; but this magnificent road far surpassed all other works of the kind, both for pleasure and convenience. The trees afforded shade as well as refreshment; and at every stage was a caravansera, where persons of all sects were lodged and entertained according to their peculiar habits, as an instance of which attendants of different castes were paid by the government, to wait upon Hindū travellers, whose religion did not allow of their being served by Mohammedans. There were also mosques at regular distances, where provisions were given to poor wayfarers; and at every two miles was a well or a fountain, which may be reckoned among the chief necessaries of a hot climate.

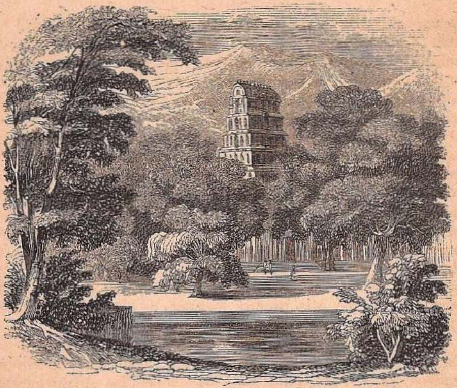
Shír-khán was succeeded by his son Selim, who reigned in peace nine years; but after his death his son, a minor, was deposed by one of his uncles, whose bad government occasioned the defection of several chiefs; and again the Empire was dismembered, and distracted by civil warfare. In the mean while, Humáyun, assisted by the Persian monarch, had been at war with his brother Camran, from whom he recovered the crown of Cabul, and his little son Akbar, then about three years of age. Camran, after several attempts to regain possession of Cabul, took refuge among the Afghans in the mountains of Khyber, whither he was pursued; and after many adventures, was betrayed into the hands of his brother, who cruelly deprived him of his sight, and sent him to Mecca, where he soon died.

Humâyun contented himself with the kingdom of Cábul, until the troubles that arose in Delhi, after the death of Selim, encouraged him to attempt the recovery of his former power.

He marched into India, attacked the princes who were at war with each other for the throne, and eventually regained his capitals of Delhi and Agra; but he did not live to follow up these successes, a task that was left to his son Akbar, who was but thirteen years old when his father died in 1556, a few months after his restoration to the throne of Delhi.

At this time several rival princes were contending for the dominion of Bengal, while others were up in arms in Bahar and Orissa; the power of the great Mogul scarcely extended to the Ganges; and even in the north of India there were many Rajas powerful enough to set it at defiance. The heritage which the great Báber had left to his family was falling to pieces.

Humâyun appears to have owed his military successes almost entirely to the Persians. When he first re-entered Cabúl he had with him 14,000 Persian cavalry.



CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE HINDŪS.

THE Hindūs, notwithstanding the many revolutions that had taken place in the country, and their intermixture with the Mohammedans, had preserved most of their ancient customs unchanged, but more particularly those that appertained to their religion, and some of their early political institutions, which, although not maintained perhaps in all their original purity, presented the same leading characteristics that distinguished them from all others in former times. Among these institutions were the townships, or village republics, where the truest and most pleasing picture of Hindū life was to be found.

Amid all the changes that had taken place from time immemorial in the vast regions of India, the privileges of the townships had been respected, so that each village was, as we have said, a little independent commonwealth, governed by its own laws, and its own ruler, the elder, or headman, who

was answerable to the lord of the soil for the rents paid by the ryots or cultivators for their holdings. The headman might be called the village mayor. He was the chief magistrate and judge; the commander in case of an attack; and to him belonged the right of levying such taxes as were necessary for keeping the temples in repair, for celebrating festivals, and for other public expenses. He was assisted by several subordinate officers, the chief of whom were the Accountant and the Watchman; the duty of the former being to keep the records of everything relating to the lands, as the names of the ryots, the extent of their holdings, and amount of rents; with an exact account of all the payments and disbursements. This office was hereditary, as was also that of the Watchman, a very busy and important person, who might be called the head of the police, and had so many duties to perform, that he was usually assisted by his sons and other male relatives.

If any property were stolen, the watchman was bound to use every exertion to discover the thief, who was sometimes tracked through the country for many miles, the pursuit never being abandoned until he was traced to some other village, when it became the duty of the watchman of that community to take up the chase, which was thus continued until the robber was captured, for it was very seldom that these active officers missed their object. The watchman was expected to know the character of every inhabitant of the village, and to report to his superiors whatever might be wrong in their conduct.

It was also his business to overlook the fields, and watch the progress of the crops, as well as to see that the boundary marks were kept in proper order, for the fields were not separated by hedges or ditches, but their extent was usually marked by a tree, a pond or a temple. The lands were allotted, as formerly described, each man taking a share of the inferior with the good; and the principal objects of cultivation were the same as in ancient times, with the addition of tobacco; which was, perhaps, introduced by the Portuguese, both in India and China, since there is no mention made of it in either country until after the discovery of America, where the plant was first found by the Europeans, and carried by them to other parts of the world.

Every village had its messenger or postman, and a certain number of useful artizans, as a smith, carpenter, potter, and such others as were required to supply the moderate wants of a rustic population; and to each little community was also attached a priest, an astrologer, a schoolmaster, a bard and a musician, who did not the less contribute towards the general happiness, by fostering the favourite superstitions of the simple people. All the Hindūs believe in the existence of supernatural beings, and imagine that every village has its especial guardian genius, to watch over those whose virtues entitle them to such protection. The Bramins themselves inculcate the belief in good and evil genii, who often figure as principal characters in Hindū tales.

Postman.

The villagers are described as living in happy unity among themselves, and generally, in easy circumstances. They were strongly attached to the place of their birth, and if driven by warfare to remove to some other spot, would return when peace was restored, to settle again on the land of their fathers, even though all traces of their former habitations might have been destroyed, and their fields converted into a desert. The cottages, in some parts of the country, were constructed of bamboo, and thatched with the broad leaves of the palm; in others, they were built of clay, with flat tiled roofs; and, in many districts, had neat gardens, for the growth of vegetables. But the simple habits of the Hindūs required so little furniture, that the house of a farmer seldom contained more

than two or three mats, a handmill, some cooking utensils, an iron plate used for baking cakes, and a few dishes. The husbandmen arose at daybreak, and taking their breakfasts with them, set off with their cattle, to their respective fields, from which they did not return till evening. Their dinner was usually carried to them about noon, by their wives or daughters, whose chief employments were, to grind the corn, fetch water, cook, and spin. The cooking, which was always performed in the open air, or under a shed, consisted chiefly of baking cakes of unleavened bread, boiling rice, and preparing vegetables; for very little animal food was used by the people in general, and none by the Bramins.

The Indians, at their meals, help themselves with their fingers, and place their dishes on the ground, each man taking his meal alone; an unsocial custom that arose, no doubt, from the many rules to be observed with regard to different kinds of food, and the horror a Hindū feels of eating with a person whose caste is inferior to his own: a prejudice so deeply rooted, that any man would throw away his dinner untasted, if such a person only placed his foot on the spot where the meal was being prepared.

The evenings of the villagers, after their return from the fields, were spent in recreation with their families and neighbours; and they might sometimes be seen sitting in a circle under the trees, listening with delight to some wonderful tale related by the bard of the village, or, perhaps, by some wandering Faquir, or traveller, who had come to seek shelter and entertainment for the night; for whose accommodation there was always a house maintained at the public expense; and a fund was also kept for

Wandering Faquir

the purpose of giving alms to religious mendicants. The monkish orders had become very numerous, and some of them had convents to which lands were attached; but a great number of the members subsisted entirely on charity, and were merely associated by certain rules which they made for themselves. Among these, were several sects of pretended devotees, who sought to obtain a reputation for sanctity by imposing on themselves, or seeming to do so, the most painful austerities; but their influence gradually declined; some of them were, in time, treated with contempt as impostors, while others inspired dread by their lawless deeds. To the latter class belonged the Nagas, who were at once monks, soldiers, and robbers, sometimes engaging, for pay, in the services of different princes, and sometimes forming themselves into large armed bands for the purpose of plunder. The personal appearance of these fanatics was forbidding in the extreme, for their clothing consisted merely of a coarse hempen cloth tied round them, while their long shaggy beards and matted hair, hanging over their bare arms, gave them a wild and ferocious aspect. The Nagas were again divided into other sects, some of whom were worshippers of Vishnu, others of Siva, and desperate conflicts often took place between them.

The Emperor Akber, on one of his expeditions, met, on the banks of the Ganges, two parties, who were about to dispute with their swords, the possession of a bathing place. He humanely endeavoured to effect an amicable arrangement, but to no purpose; he therefore stopped to witness the battle, which was fought with great fury, many being killed on both sides; till at length, one party gaining a decided advantage, the Emperor commanded his guards to interfere, to prevent more bloodshed; but, even then, the contest was given up with great reluctance.

As late as the year 1760, a still more violent affray took place at the great fair of Hardwar, where, it is said, some thousands were left dead on the field; but this is probably an exaggerated statement. Hardwar, or Ganga Dwara, meaning the Gate of the Ganges, is situated at the spot where that river issues from the mountains, and is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, besides being the seat of the greatest fair in India. The fair and religious festival are held together, at the vernal

equinox, on which occasion, not less than from two to three hundred thousand persons are assembled; and every twelfth year, which is a sort of jubilee, the numbers are much greater; but the festivals generally ended in bloodshed, until Bengal was occupied by the British in 1765; since which time, measures for preserving peace and good order have been successfully adopted.

The faquirs, or yogees, of the Senessee tribe, are a set of mendicant philosophers, who travel all over Hindūstan, and live on the charity of the other castes of Hindūs. They are generally entirely naked, most of them robust handsome men: they admit proselytes from the other tribes, especially youths of bright parts, and take great pains to instruct them in their mysteries. These Gymnosophists often unite in large armed bodies, and perform pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and celebrated temples; but they are more like an army marching through a province, than an assembly of saints in procession to a temple; and often lay the countries through which they pass under contribution. At times they have given great trouble to government. One of their hosts, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor, when at the height of his power, to tremble on his throne at Delhi. Another swarm fell upon Bengal, in the time of Warren Hastings, rapidly and silently, like a flight of locusts. They rushed in search of their prey in bodies, each two or three thousand strong, and wherever they penetrated they burned and destroyed the villages, and committed every abomination. Six or seven battalions of sepoys were sent in pursuit of them, but they moved at a speed that defied any regular infantry, and crossing rivers and mountains, they got back to the wild country which lies between India, Tibet and China. Many yogees, and similar professors, are devotees of the strictest order, carrying their superstition and enthusiasm far beyond any thing we are acquainted with in Europe: even the austerities of La Trappe are light in comparison with the voluntary penances of these philosophers, who reside in holes and caves, or remain under the banian trees near the temples. They imagine that the expiation of their own sins, and sometimes those of others, consists in the most rigorous penances and mortifications. Some of them enter into a solemn vow to

continue for life in one unvaried position; others undertake to carry a cumbrous load, or drag a heavy chain; some crawl on their hands and knees, for years, around an extensive empire; others roll their bodies on the earth, from the shores of the Indus to the banks of the Ganges, and in that humiliating posture, collect money to enable them either to build a temple, to dig a well, or to atone for some particular sin. Some swing during their whole life, in this torrid clime, before a slow fire; others suspend themselves, with their heads downwards, for a certain time over the fiercest flames. I have seen a man who had made a vow to hold up his arms in a perpendicular manner above his head, and never to suspend them; until he at length totally lost the power of moving them. He was one of the Gymnosophists, who wear no kind of covering, and seemed more like a wild beast than a man: his arms, from having been so long in one posture, were become withered and dried up; while his outstretched fingers, with long nails of twenty years' growth, had the appearance of extraordinary horns: his hair, full of dust, and never combed, hung over him in a savage manner; and, except in his erect position, there appeared nothing human about him. This man was travelling throughout Hindūstan, and being unable to help himself with food, women of distinction among the Hindūs contended for the honour of feeding this holy person wherever he appeared. I saw another of the devotees, who was one of the phalhi worshippers of Siva, and who, not content with wearing or adoring the symbol of that deity, had made a vow to fix every year a large iron ring into the most tender part of his body, and thereto to suspend a heavy chain, many yards long, to drag on the ground. I saw this extraordinary saint, in the seventh year of his penance, when he had just put in the seventh ring; and the wound was then so tender and painful, that he was obliged to carry the chain upon his shoulder until the orifice became more callous. I could recite many other facts; with a variety of superstitious as well as indecent rites and painful ceremonies, which these mistaken votaries practise, in hopes of appeasing the Deity. Such austerities ought to make us more highly prize the pure and holy tenets of the Christian religion; and should fill our hearts with love and gratitude to him who brought life and immortality to light through his Gospel; and offered himself

as an all-sufficient atonement for the sins of a fallen world! The Bramins at the Hindū temples seldom wear a turban, and the upper part of their body is generally naked; but they never appear without the zennal, or sacred string, passing over them from the left shoulder; and a piece of fine cotton is tied round the waist, and falls in graceful folds below the knee. Their simple diet consists of milk, rice, fruit, and vegetables; they abstain from every thing that could enjoy life; and use spices to flavour the rice, which is their principal food; it is also enriched with ghee, or clarified butter. We cannot but admire the principle which dictates this humanity and self-denial: although, did they through a microscope observe the animalcula which cover the mango and compose the bloom of the fig, or perceive the animated myriads that swarm on every vegetable they eat, they must on their present system be at a loss for subsistence. Some of the Bramins carry their austerities to such a length, as never to eat any thing but the grain which has passed through the cow; which being afterwards separated from its accompaniments, is considered by them as the purest of all food; in such veneration is this animal held by the Hindūs. From the religious order of Bramins I descend to the caste of Chandalahs, or Pariars. These people are considered so abject as to be employed in the vilest offices, and held in such detestation that no other tribe will touch them; and those Hindūs who commit enormous crimes are excommunicated into this caste, which is considered to be a punishment worse than death. But I will dwell no longer on particular castes; being desirous to draw a portrait of the Hindūs, where they bear a more general resemblance with each other; for although each caste, as I have already mentioned, does not differ in dress, and has a few peculiar customs, and rules for ceremonial and moral conduct, yet they all agree in the fundamental tenets of their religion, and the principal duties of life. They are commonly of the middle stature, slight, and well proportioned, with regular and expressive features, black eyes, and a serene countenance. Among the virtues of the Hindūs are piety, obedience to superiors, resignation in misfortune, charity, and hospitality; filial, parental, and conjugal affection, are among their distinguishing characteristics.

They are extremely sober, drinking only water, milk, or

sherbet; and none but those of the lowest order are ever seen in a state of intoxication. They eat in the morning and evening; their cooking utensils are simple; their plates and dishes are generally formed from the leaf of the plantain-tree, or the nymphea lotus, that beautiful lily which abounds in every lake; these are never used a second time: the furniture of their houses is equally simple; seldom extending beyond what is absolutely necessary for a people whose wants are very few, when compared with those of the inhabitants of the northern climates. The men, in most of the Hindū tribes, shave the head and beard, but leave the mustachios on the upper lip, and a small lock of hair on the head. The better sort wear turbans of fine muslin, of different colours; and a jama, or long gown of white calico, which is tied round the middle with a fringed or embroidered sash. Their shoes are of red leather, or English broad-cloth, sometimes ornamented, and always turned up with a long point at the toe. Their ears are bored, and adorned with large gold rings, passing through two pearls, or rubies; and on the arms they wear bracelets of gold or silver. The princes and nobles are adorned with pearl necklaces and golden chains, sustaining clusters of costly gems; their turbans are enriched with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; and their bracelets composed of gold and precious stones. The inferior castes are of a darker complexion than the superior Hindūs; their dress generally consists of a turban, a short cotton vest and drawers; but some wear only a turban, and a cloth round the waist, although the poorest among them usually contrive to purchase a silver bangle, or bracelet, for the arm. The Hindū women, when young, are delicate and beautiful; so far as we can reconcile beauty with the olive complexion. They are finely proportioned; their limbs small, their features soft and regular, and their eyes black and languishing: but the bloom of beauty soon decays, and age makes a rapid progress before they have seen thirty years. This may be accounted for from the heat of the climate, and the customs of the country, as they often are mothers at twelve years of age.

No women can be more attentive to cleanliness than the Hindūs: they take every method to render their persons delicate, soft, and attractive: their dress is peculiarly becoming; consisting of a long piece of silk, or cotton, tied round the

waist, and hanging in a graceful manner to the feet, it is afterwards brought over the body in negligent folds; under this they cover the bosom with a short waistcoat of satin, but wear no linen. Their long black hair is adorned with jewels and wreaths of flowers; their ears are bored in many places, and loaded with pearls; a variety of gold chains, strings of pearl and precious stones, fall from the neck over the bosom; and the arms are covered with bracelets from the wrist to the elbow: they have also gold and silver chains round the ankles, and abundance of rings on their fingers and toes; among those on the fingers is frequently a small mirror. I think the richer the dress the less becoming it appears, and a Hindū woman of distinction always seems to be overloaded with finery; while the village nymphs, with fewer ornaments, but in the same elegant drapery, are more captivating; although there are very few women, even of the lowest families, who have not some jewels at their marriage.

In these external decorations consist the pride and pleasure of these uninstructed females; for very few even in the best families know how to read or write, or are capable of intellectual enjoyment. We learn from Homer that the women in ancient Greece always kept in a retired part of the house, employed in embroidery or other feminine occupations; and at this day the Indian females are never seen by those who visit the master of the family; they know but little of the world, and are not permitted to eat with their husbands or brothers, nor to associate with other men. After the girls are betrothed, the ends of the fingers and nails are dyed red, with a preparation from the mendey, or hinna shrub, already mentioned as a principal ornament of the Asiatic gardens. They make a black circle round the eyes with the powder of antimony, which adds much to their brilliancy and heightens the beauty of the Eastern ladies. The houses of the rich Hindūs and the Mohammedans are generally built within an inclosure, surrounded by galleries or verandahs, not only for privacy, but to exclude the sun from the apartments. This court is frequently adorned with shrubs and flowers, and a fountain playing before the principal room, where the master receives his guests, which is open in front to the garden, and furnished with carpets and cushions. Education in general among the Hindūs is attended with very little trouble: few boys in the

subordinate tribes are taught anything more than to read and write, with the rudiments of the trade or profession they are intended for; but many of the Bramin youth are instructed in astronomy, astrology, and physic, and acquire some knowledge of the civil and religious laws. Nothing can be more simple than a Hindū school, which is usually under a thatched shed open on three sides, with a sanded floor, on which the boys learn to write, and go through the first rules of arithmetic, in which science some of them make a great progress. The ceremonies of the Hindūs open an ample field for observation, on which I can now make only a few cursory remarks. The children are married at the discretion of their parents; the girls at three or four and the boys at six or eight years of age: the nuptials are attended with much expense; occasioned by an ostentatious parade, nocturnal processions, feasting for several days, and presents to the numerous guests. The bride afterwards sees her husband as a play-fellow, she is taught to place her affection on this object, and never thinks of any other, until, when about eleven years old, she is conducted with some ceremony to his house, and commences the duties of a wife and the mistress of a family. But should the boy die during that interval, the girl must remain a widow for life, have her head shaved, be divested of every ornament, and perform many menial offices. One delicate attention which most of the Hindū women voluntarily pay to their husband is, when he is absent from home for any length of time, they seldom wear their jewels or decorate themselves with ornaments, since the object they most wish to please is no longer in their presence. No widow is permitted to marry a second time; but a man may have a succession of wives: polygamy is allowed by the Hindū law, though not generally practised, except when the first wife proves barren. Every Hindū must marry into his own caste; but among the lower classes at Bombay I have known this ordinance evaded. And in several parts of India, especially in Mysore and Malabar, the ryots, or cultivators of the land, take as many wives as they can maintain, as the women there are extremely useful in different branches of husbandry, and are not expensive to their husbands. Most of the Hindūs burn their dead. The funeral piles of the rich are mingled with sandal wood, and fed by aromatic oils; while the poor are consumed

with humble faggots. Some put the bodies of their deceased friends into rivers, especially those they deem holy streams; and there are particular castes in Bengal who, when they think the sick past recovery, expose them on the banks of the Ganges, fill their mouths with sacred mud, and leave them at high-water mark to be carried away by the tide. Throughout the greater part of Hindūstan, when all hopes of recovery are over, the sick person is taken from the bed and laid upon the earth, that he may expire on the element from which he was originally formed. After his death the house is surrounded by widows, hired for the purpose, who make loud lamentations, beat their breasts in a violent manner, and affect every token of grief and despair. The male relations attend the corpse to the funeral pile, which, if possible, is always near the water; and after the body is consumed the ashes are sprinkled with milk and consecrated water, brought from the Ganges or some other holy stream, and ceremonies are performed for several days. Although the custom of burning the dead so generally prevails, yet in some districts, on particular occasions, they are interred. The extraordinary custom of the widow burning herself with the body of her deceased husband is constantly practised among the Mahrattas and different castes of Hindūs, under their own princes on the continent. On the decease of the husband, if his widow resolves to attend him to the world of spirits, a funeral pile is erected, covered with an arbour of dry boughs, where the dead body is placed: the living victim follows, dressed in her bridal jewels, surrounded by relations, priests, and musicians. After certain prayers and ceremonies she takes off her jewels, and presenting them with her last blessing to her nearest relative, she ascends the funeral pile, enters the awful bower, and placing herself near the body of her husband, with her own hand generally sets fire to the pile; which being constantly supplied with aromatic oils, the mortal frames are soon consumed: and the Hindūs entertain no doubt of their souls' re-union in purer realms; where, however false the principle, they are taught to believe such heroic virtue and approved constancy will meet with a proportionate reward. During the cremation the noise of the trumpets and other musical instruments overpowers the cries of the self-devoted victim, should her resolution fail

her: but those who have attended this solemn sacrifice assure us that they always observed that even the youngest widows manifested the greatest composure and dignity throughout the awful scene.

There are no people in the world who pay so much attention to the ceremonies of their religion as the Hindūs, nor is there any country where places of worship are so numerous. No sabbath is observed, but holidays are frequent, and the temples are visited daily and hourly by persons of both sexes, who carry offerings to the idols, and decorate them with garlands of flowers, The most devout perform their morning devotions on the banks of a lake or river, which is usually furnished with flights of steps, that the worshippers may descend to the water to go through the customary ablutions which form a part of their religious rites. Parties of Bramins are constantly seen repairing to the temples; while, on every holiday, the roads and streets are thronged with religious mendicants, usually distinguished by a dingy orange-coloured scarf or turban; pilgrims bearing some symbol of the god they are going to worship, whose name they repeat aloud to every passer-by; processions with images borne on stages elevated above the heads of the people; and with representations of temples, chariots, and horses, accompanied by drums, cymbals, and other noisy instruments, and followed by immense crowds of the common people.

The native princes celebrated all the great festivals with extraordinary splendour, lavishing vast sums on gorgeous processions and other costly pageants. The most magnificent of these spectacles was a dramatic performance, exhibited in the open air, at the festival of Rama, to commemorate the supposed victory of that deified hero over the giant-king of Ceylon. On this occasion a temporary building, erected on some large plain, represented the giant's castle, which was stormed and taken by a band of warriors, led by one who personated Rama himself. It was customary for the prince, and all the great men of the province, to be present at this exhibition, which, after the mock combat, ended with fireworks and a triumphal procession, described as the most magnificent spectacle ever witnessed even in the East.

The Hindūs took great delight in shows and merry-makings, especially in fairs, which were held generally once a year in

most of the towns and villages. Some of them were great commercial fairs, attended by merchants from different countries, but also resorted to for pleasure by the lower orders, for whose entertainment there were such amusements as are usually presented at an English fair. The Indians have a spring festival, called the Holi, which is celebrated in the villages with bonfires and sports; one of the favourite diversions of the revellers on this particular occasion being that of throwing over each other a crimson powder, made up for the purpose into little balls, until every individual is so completely disguised that it is difficult to distinguish one from another, which causes abundance of mirth; and this game is played in the houses of the great with as much enjoyment as among the simple villagers.

The suttee, though a very prevalent practice, was never universal, as was formerly supposed; and the victim generally acted by her own free will, often in opposition to the wishes of her relatives. But this was not always the case, especially among the families of princes and great Bramins, who were sometimes desirous of augmenting the solemnity of the funeral rites by a suttee, and would even employ force to gain their object. The emperor Akber made a law to protect women from so horrible a fate, and was fortunate enough to save the life of one lady by riding some hundreds of miles, at his utmost speed, to the spot where he had been informed the sacrifice was to take place. The lady was the daughter-in-law of the Raja of Joudpoor, who, sanctioned by the Bramins of his court, had demanded of the reluctant widow this fearful proof of her affection for his deceased son, in order to increase the pomp of the obsequies; but the Emperor happily arrived in time to prevent the ceremony, to the infinite joy and gratitude of the widow, but to the great disappointment of the Raja and priests, who considered that he had interrupted a most holy and meritorious act.

The scene was often rendered the more revolting by the circumstance, that the hand of a son was required to set fire to the pile on which his mother was about to perish in so cruel a manner. The British Government has done much towards the abolition of this barbarous custom; and the humane endeavour to suppress it entirely has long been warmly supported by the most enlightened portion of the

Indian population; but in some parts of the country, where the ancient superstitions still prevail in all their original force, a suttee is even now heard of occasionally.

The Hindūs generally consume the bodies of the dead by fire, except those of the religious orders, which are buried in a sitting posture, with their legs crossed, as we see those of the idols. It is considered very unfortunate to die in a house, therefore when a man draws near his end, he is always carried out of doors, and laid on a bed of grass, usually on the banks of a stream, the Ganges being always preferred, if within reach. The funeral rites are performed immediately after death, when a pyre is raised and decorated with flowers, and the deceased, after having been bathed, perfumed, and adorned also with fresh flowers, is laid upon it, having been conveyed to the spot preceded by music. The pile is then lighted by the nearest relation, and scented oils, with clarified butter, are poured on the flames, the friends and relatives sitting on the banks of the stream to watch the burning. On these occasions, as well as at all other religious ceremonials, liberal presents are made to the Bramins, and alms given to the poor.

Tombs are seldom erected by the Hindus, except for those who are slain in any remarkable battle, or for widows who have devoted themselves to death; but rites to the dead are performed every month in any lonely glade, or on the banks of a stream, whither the relatives of the departed bring offerings of rice-cakes and clarified butter, which they set down on the edge of the water, invoking the manes to come and partake of them.

At this period the domestic manners of the great were probably influenced, in a higher degree, by those of their Mohammedan conquerors than at any other period. Women of rank never went abroad without being closely veiled, or shut up in a covered palanquin; but since the fall of the Mussulman empire they have not adhered very strictly to this custom, although they have still their separate apartments, and do not mix in society with the opposite sex. They were attended by great numbers of female slaves, whose condition was, in general, superior to that of free servants, as they were considered a part of the family, and often treated by their mistresses in the light of humble friends, and as such we find them represented in most eastern tales.

The towns of India were, in general, populous, and full of shops, which were always open to the street, and sometimes consisted only of a small booth or verandah in front of the dwelling. The customers stood outside in the street while they made their purchases. The upper part of the house was usually let to a private family, as the shopkeepers only came to their place of business in the morning, and returned home at sunset. The greater number of them were confectioners, fruiterers, grain-sellers, druggists, and braziers; but there were also many dealers in cloth, silks, shawls, and stuffs of various descriptions, who kept their goods in bales to preserve them from the dust. The streets were, in general, unpaved, narrow, and crowded; the houses high and built of brick, stone, or other material according to the part of the country in which they were situated. In the houses of the Hindū nobles the interior wood-work was richly carved; but there was no furniture, except a thin cotton mattress spread over the floor, covered with a white cloth, on which, at their entertainments, the guests sat in rows, opposite to each other, around the room, while the master of the house was seated at the upper end, raised above the rest by a second mattress, covered, perhaps, with a carpet of embroidered silk, and, if he were a prince or great chief, a high embroidered cushion formed his musnud or throne. A quilted silk curtain supplied the place of a door, and the apartment was lighted at night by torches, held by men, on occasions of ceremony; though, for ordinary purposes, brass lamps were used. Entertainments were very rarely given, except at weddings and a few of the great festivals, when it was customary to hire female singers and dancers, parties of whom were continually roaming about the country.

It was the custom among the Indians to offer presents to their guests, such as shawls, bracelets, ornaments for the turban; or, on a first introduction among people of rank, the gift was frequently a handsome sword, a horse, or even an elephant, which last was considered as the most complimentary.

The carriages used in India were of various kinds. Palan quins, carried by bearers, were the most general, but the principal inhabitants in some of the cities rode in a vehicle resembling what we call a chaise-cart, covered with fine cloth or silk, and drawn by two small buffaloes. The howdahs were of various forms, some being like pavilions with silk curtains;

others, like chairs; while some were merely flat cushions; so that any seat fixed on the back of an elephant was called a howdah. There was also a state conveyance called a naulkeen, which bore some resemblance to a throne, and was carried with poles; but this was never used by any other than sovereign princes, or their representatives.

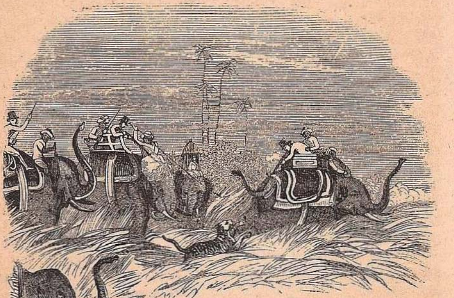
The general state of the country at this period seems to have been flourishing. One old writer says that every peasant had a good bedstead and a neat garden. Nicolo di Conti, who travelled about the middle of the fifteenth century, speaks highly of what he saw in Guzerat, and found the banks of the Ganges covered with towns amidst beautiful gardens and orchards, and passed four famous cities before he reached Madrazia, which he describes as a powerful city abounding with gold, silver, and precious stones. Barbosa, who travelled in the first years of the sixteenth century, corroborates these accounts. He describes Cambay as a remarkably well-built city, in a fertile and beautiful country, filled with merchants of all nations, and with artisans and manufacturers like those of Flanders. The Emperor Báber, in his most interesting memoirs, speaks of Hindūstan as a rich and noble country, abounding in gold and silver; and expresses his astonishment at the swarming population, and the innumerable workmen in every trade. The part of India still retained by the Hindūs was nowise inferior to that possessed by the Mohammedans. The sea-port towns, above all, seem to have attracted admiration. Those on both coasts are described as large cities, the resort and habitation of merchants from every part of the world, who were carrying on trade with Africa, Arabia, Persia, and China. An extensive home trade was likewise carried on along the coasts, and into the interior. The high roads were commodious and shaded by trees, with resting-houses and wells at regular intervals. In an inscription lately discovered, which there is every reason to think is of the third century *before* Christ, there is an especial order by the Hindū king for digging wells and planting trees along the public highways.

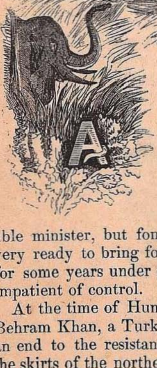
At first, the Mahommedan conquerors converted many Hindūs by terror and the sabre; the novelty of their doctrines led also to many changes of religion, but a spirit altogether opposed to conversion soon showed itself among the conquered population, and at the same time the persecuting zeal of the

Mussulmans was abated. At the present moment all the Mohammedans in India do not exceed one-eighth of the population. Their distribution is very unequal: in Bengal, east of the Ganges, they are more than one-half of the population; in the other and more considerable parts of Bengal they are one-fourth, but in the west of Behar and Benares, not one-twentieth. The style of architecture they introduced, the public baths, tombs, and mosques they erected, added greatly to the beauty of the country. They regarded the Hindūs with some contempt, but, after their submission, with no hostility. These ancient occupants of the soil were liable to the capitation tax and some other invidious distinctions, but were not much molested in the exercise of their religion. On both sides, there was more superstition than fanaticism. The Mosque often rose by the side of the Hindū pagoda, and the worshippers of Mahomet often performed their ablutions close to the tank where the worshippers of Siva performed theirs. If, now and then, the conquerors broke out into intolerance, and insulted the idols, and invaded the temples of the conquerors, these were the acts of individuals and not of the government. It should appear that, contrary to the usual practice of the Mohammedans in other countries, the conquered race, in spite of their non-conversion, were often allowed to bear arms and fight in the same ranks as the true believer.

Mango Tree.

THE EMPEROR AKBER.





AS Akber was yet too young to take the government into his own hands, it was entrusted, during his minority, to a nobleman, named Behram, who had been his father's most valued friend, and who succeeded in maintaining the throne for the young monarch against the princes of the late reigning family. Behram was an able minister, but fond of absolute authority; therefore not very ready to bring forward his royal charge, who was kept for some years under more restraint than suited a high spirit, impatient of control.

At the time of Humayun's death, his celebrated minister, Behram Khan, a Turkoman by birth, was engaged in putting an end to the resistance of Secander Sur, who had retired to the skirts of the northern mountains, and still retained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Punjáb. He had scarcely

time to arrange the new government for young Akber, when he learned that Mirza, Soliman of Badakhshan, had taken possession of Cabul, and all that part of Humayun's late dominions; and while he was considering the means of repairing this disaster, he was apprised that Hemu had set out with an army on the part of Sultan Adili, for the double purpose of expelling the Moguls, and reducing Secander Sur to obedience. The result of this contest is soon told. The Afghans were defeated; and Hemu, who had fought with desperate valour, and had continued to resist after he had received a mortal wound from an arrow through the eye, at length fell senseless on his elephant, and was taken prisoner and brought to Akber's tent. Behram was desirous that Akber should give him the finishing stroke, and thus, by imbruing his sword in the blood of so distinguished an infidel, establish his right to the envied title of "Ghazi," or "Champion of the Faith;" but the spirited boy refused to strike a wounded enemy, and Behram, irritated by his scruples, himself cut off the captive's head at a blow.

Secander Sur issued from the mountains, and possessed himself of a great portion of the Punjáb. A Mogul army easily recovered the open country, but Secander retired to the strong fort of Mankot, which he defended with valour and obstinacy for the space of eight months, at the end of which he capitulated, and was allowed to retire to Bengal, which was still held by an officer of the Afghan dynasty.

The real restoration of the house of Tamerlane may be dated from this period. It had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Behram Khan, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject, and already began to show indications of decline. The great minister became jealous, testy, and cruel. He put several men of note to death, without consulting young Akber or any one else. One day while Akber was amusing himself with an elephant fight, one of the elephants ran off the field, pursued by its antagonist, and followed by a great crowd of spectators; the animal rushed through the tents of Behram, some of which were thrown down; thus exposing the minister himself to danger, while it threw all around him into the utmost confusion and alarm. Irritated by this incident, and perhaps suspecting a secret design against his life, Behram ordered the

elephant-driver to be put to death, and for some time maintained a sullen demeanour towards the king himself. A nobleman of consequence enough to oppose Behram in council was put to death by that minister on some slight charge. The king's own tutor, Pir Mohammed Khan, narrowly escaped the same fate, and was banished from court on pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The young sovereign soon felt that he could not protect his friends, and that he was himself in a state of thraldom.

Akber was handsome in person, courteous in manners, and gifted with all those princely qualities that are sure to render a monarch popular. Skilled in all manly exercises, and courageous even to madness, he delighted to exhibit his prowess in taming wild horses and elephants, or in braving the dangers to which huntsmen are exposed in the east, from the ferocious nature of the animals they chase. Tiger-hunting was the favourite sport of the young sultan, who, when engaged in this perilous pastime, was ever the most daring of the party, and in the eagerness of pursuit was frequently separated from his train; the only times, perhaps, when he found himself perfectly at liberty. It was on one of these occasions that he executed the bold project of freeing himself from a state of tutelage that was becoming every day more irksome to him. Galloping off alone to Delhi, he took possession of the palace as sole master, and issued a proclamation, declaring that he intended, from that moment, to take the government into his own hands. Finding plenty of friends to support him, he sent a formal dismissal to the regent, who was so incensed at being thus unexpectedly deprived of office that he revolted, and collecting a body of troops attempted to make himself master of the Punjáb; but being defeated by the royal army, he repaired to court, and kneeling at the foot of the throne, solicited pardon for his rebellion; which was graciously accorded. The sultan then offered a government of some importance to the humbled minister, who, however, declined the proffered favour, on the plea that he desired to expiate his fault by making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Having received the royal permission, he set out on his journey, but never reached the holy city, as he was assassinated on the way, by an Afghan chief, in revenge for the death of his father who had fallen in battle against the Moguls.

In the first years of Akber's reign his territory was confined to the Punjáb and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year he acquired Ajmeer without a battle; early in the fourth year he obtained the renowned fort of Gwalior, which has more than once been the scene and object of an English siege; and not long before Behram's fall he had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow and the country on the Ganges as far east as Juanpur. In Malwa and in several other countries attempts were made by the Hindū chiefs to recover their independence; but in every case the arms of Akber prevailed against them.

The young conqueror had several narrow escapes for his life, and several striking opportunities of showing his magnanimity and mercy. During an insurrection, as he was going in procession to a celebrated shrine, an archer who belonged to the rebel chief mixed with the spectators, and pretending to discharge his arrow at a bird suddenly brought it down in the direction of the emperor and lodged it some inches deep in his shoulder. The fellow was instantly seized, and Akber was intreated to put him immediately to torture in order to extract confessions as to the instigators and accomplices of the crime. The young emperor said that a confession under such circumstances was more likely to criminate the innocent than the guilty, and that the man ought to suffer death as the law provided, without being tortured. In an eastern sovereign this is rare wisdom and virtue. The continual recourse to tortures of the most atrocious kinds is one of the most revolting features in all Oriental histories. A near relation of Akber gave way to a violent temper, and treated his wife with such brutality that her relations applied to Akber to intercede, and prevail on him to allow her to go and live with her mother. Akber took an opportunity, while going out on a hunting party, to pay him a visit in his house near Delhi. At his approach the monster guessed his design, and running to his harem before Akber had alighted, stabbed his wife to the heart and threw the bloody dagger from the window among the king's attendants. When Akber entered the house he found him armed for resistance, and narrowly escaped death from one of his slaves, who was cut down as he was making a blow at the emperor. Incensed at these atrocities Akber ordered him to be thrown into the river Jumna:

he did not immediately sink; and Akber relented, and ordered him to be taken out and imprisoned in Gwalior, where he died soon after a maniac.

At first Akber had to fight for his crown; but by the time he had completed his twenty-fifth year he had crushed the military aristocracy by his vigour, or attached them by his clemency, and had time to turn his thoughts to foreign conquests.

His dominions were too limited to satisfy the aspiring mind of the young Sultan, who, from the earliest period of his reign, seems to have formed the grand design of uniting the whole of India into one vast monarchy. With this view, he judiciously endeavoured to conciliate the Hindūs, by bestowing offices of state, without distinction, on the native as well as Mohammedan nobles; and he formed an alliance with one of the greatest of the Rajput families, by marrying the daughter of Bahara-mal, the Raja of Jeipur, a powerful state in Rajputana. The capital of this state was one of the handsomest cities of Hindūstan, being embellished with many fine buildings, amongst which was a magnificent palace, built entirely of white marble, and surrounded by beautiful gardens. This building is said to have been the work of an Italian architect, employed by a predecessor of Bahara-mal, in the fifteenth century.

But it was not by conciliatory measures alone that a country containing so many independent states was to be brought under subjection to one ruler; therefore Akber very soon appeared in the field, and in a few years had largely extended his dominions on every side. The Rajputs, who held a great many principalities, made a desperate struggle to maintain their independence; but the arms of the Sultan were uniformly victorious, and that once-powerful class of men, as their governments were overthrown, and their princes made subjects to the Mogul empire, mingled, by degrees, with the mass of the people, and were known in after times rather as agriculturists than warriors. The chiefs of the conquered states were always treated honourably, and enrolled amongst the nobles of Delhi, while their territories were united to the empire, and placed under its regulations; so that in course of time, one uniform system of government was established throughout the greater part of Hindūstan.

Akber distinguished himself no less as a legislator than a conqueror. He made many beneficial laws, and relieved the people from a great number of burthensome taxes, which had been imposed by different princes to support either their wars or their extravagance. Among the most oppressive of these were a capitation tax, and a toll levied on pilgrims going to any of the holy cities; both of which were abolished by the sultan, who was blamed by some of his councillors for encouraging the idolatry of the Hindūs, by allowing them to make their pilgrimages toll free. Akber, however, silenced these objections, by saying that he held it a sin to place obstacles in the way of any man's devotions, whatever might be his mode of performing them; and as long as he occupied the throne, this indulgence was continued to the Hindūs; but the tax was afterwards revived, and has only lately been abolished by the British government in India.

As so many imposts were removed by Akber, it became necessary to increase the rents of land, which were raised to about one-third of the produce, and usually paid in money; but if any husbandman thought he was rated too high, he was allowed to claim the right of paying in kind, and was thus protected from extortion on the part of the collectors. Wherever Akber established his sway he made great reforms in the courts of justice, which had long been very badly regulated, and in many places had become altogether inactive. They were now revived in every city; judges and cazis appointed; the laws restored; the severity of the penal code was greatly mitigated; and the use of torture entirely prohibited.

In the meantime the Sultan was steadily and successfully pursuing the object he had in view. The great kingdom of Guzerat, which had been in a state of anarchy ever since the assassination of Bahadur, was finally subdued and annexed to the Mogul dominions in 1573; so that in twenty years from the date of his accession, Akber had made himself absolute sovereign of all the country then known by the name of Hindūstan. Among the many conquests achieved by this great prince was that of Cashmere, a small but beautiful province, situated in an extensive plain among the Hindu-cush, a chain of the Hemalaya mountains. A long succession of Hindū princes had ruled over Cashmere previously to the fourteenth

century, when the last of them was superseded by one of those Turkish adventurers who, about that period, founded so many petty states; and the country was ruled by his successors until the invasion of Akber, when it was annexed to the empire of Delhi; and a jaghir or feudatory estate in Behar was granted to the vanquished king, on condition that he should furnish a certain number of troops to the Emperor in the manner of a feudal vassal. There were many such feudatories during the sway of the Moguls; and to them was first applied the title of Zemindar, a Persian word, meaning a holder of land, and since used to designate those high officers or agents, who are answerable to the government for the revenues derived from the lands.

Cashmere is described as the most enchanting spot in all Asia. It consists of a broad luxuriant valley, clothed with perpetual verdure, and watered by gentle cascades falling from the mountains. Fruits and flowers abound in this delightful country; and the rose of Cashmere, the theme of many a poet's song, is held in high estimation by the natives, who, at the time of its appearing in all its beauty, are accustomed to celebrate an annual festival, called "the Feast of Roses." Cashmere contained several large towns, besides a great number of pleasant villages; and being considered by the Hindūs as a holy land, was full of temples dedicated to various idols, and was resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of India. The celebrated shawls of Cashmere are made from the wool of the goats of Thibet, and this manufacture was so flourishing under the Mogul dynasty, that the number of shawl looms constantly at work in the province, is said to have amounted to forty thousand; though at the end of the last century there were not half that number, and now they are reduced to less than three thousand; yet the manufacture is as good as it was in former days. The making of a pair of shawls of the best kind, which are worth from two to three hundred pounds, will occupy fifteen men for eight months.

As long as the Mohammedan sovereigns ruled in India, and the princes and governors of provinces held courts scarcely inferior in splendour to that of the capital, there was also full employment for manufacturers of gold and silver stuffs, rich silks, fine muslins, jewellery, and goldsmith's work; but since the fall of the empire there have been no wealthy potentates

to encourage those branches of industry, which declined gradually, until some of the most beautiful were entirely lost. Cashmere became the favourite summer residence of the emperors of Delhi, one of whom constructed the famous gardens of Shalimar, where, erected on arches over a lake, were several elegant saloons, to which the great men of the court resorted, to take sherbet, coffee, and other refreshments.

Soon after the conquest of Cashmere Akber turned his arms against the Afghan tribes of those mountainous regions beyond the Indus, where the British armies have been lately engaged. The nature of the country gave great advantages to its inhabitants, who were accustomed from their earliest boyhood to wander among the intricate passes of the mountains, until they were acquainted with every path and winding, and knew exactly at what points an enemy might be intercepted. The way across the Khyber hills, which stretch from the banks of the Indus, and from the western side of the fertile plains of Peshawer, lies through many a narrow defile, while the Hindu-cush on the north of the plain are intersected by fine broad valleys, thirty or forty miles in length, with others branching out on each side, and all terminating in deep glens, hemmed in by the rugged mountains, or lost in the wilds of some pathless forest.

The first expedition sent by Akber into the Afghan country entirely failed, for his troops were beset in the most difficult passes, and cut off by thousands, so that the army was nearly destroyed. Still he did not abandon the hope of subduing that nation, and pursued the war for fifteen years, at the end of which time he was obliged to content himself with a very imperfect conquest, for although most of the Afghan chiefs were brought to make submission, and a tribute was imposed on them, their subjection was rather nominal than real, and the authority of the emperor extended but little beyond the city of Peshawer, which he greatly enlarged and beautified with mosques and other fine buildings. In the meantime he had become master of Scind, an extensive country, through which the Indus takes its course, and which contains, among other populous cities, those of Hyderabad and Tatta, the latter of which became under the dominion of his successors, one of the most opulent commercial and manufacturing towns of Hindūstan. The prince of Scind had in his

armies a number of Portuguese soldiers and a band of natives, dressed in the European fashion, who were the first sepoys in India. After the loss of his territories he was made a noble of Delhi, and the large province of Scind was thus added to the Mogul empire.

Afghan Soldier.

The victories of Akber were never stained with the cruelties that had disgraced those of former conquerors, for the army had been newly modelled, and the soldiers being all paid, were not permitted to plunder the towns, or sell the prisoners as slaves. They had, therefore, no motive for seizing and carrying off the peaceable citizens, which used to be done to a frightful extent. In most cases, too, the condition of the people was improved by the introduction of the new laws; and the whole country, when thus united under one government, was in a far more flourishing state than at any former period.

About the end of the sixteenth century, the attention of Akber was called towards the Deckan, under the following circumstances. The king of Ahmednagar had just died, and as he had left no direct heir to the throne, the succession to it was disputed by four claimants, one of whom having obtained possession, requested the aid of the Moguls to assist him in maintaining it. The Emperor sent two armies by different roads, into the Deckan; but ere they had reached their destination, the chief to whose succour they had been dispatched had been deposed by one of the rival parties, headed by Chand Sultana, a celebrated heroine of Indian history,

who assumed the sovereign authority, as Regent for her nephew, Bahadar Nizam Shah. The Moguls laid siege to the city, which was defended by the spirited princess with all the ability of a brave and experienced commander. She wore armour, directed all the operations, and on one particular occasion, saved the city from being entered through a breach, made by the explosion of a mine, by standing at the opening alone, armed with a sword, until the alarm had been given, and assistance had arrived.

The Moguls, at length being weary of the contest, abandoned the siege; but hearing soon afterwards, that the Sultana had been killed in a revolt, they took advantage of the confusion caused by that event, to storm the town, when the young king was made prisoner, and sent to the Hill fort at Gwalior; but it was not till after the death of Akber that the conquest of Ahmednagar was completed.

The court of Akber was the most splendid that had ever been held in India; and his own style of living was of that sumptuous character, that the mere description of it may seem to partake of exaggeration. His hunting establishment is said to have consisted of five thousand elephants, and double that number of horses, which were also used in war; and when he marched in person at the head of his armies, he was provided with an equipage that enabled him to surround himself, even in a desert, with all the pomp and luxuries of his imperial palaces. Whenever the army encamped, a vast space was enclosed by screens of red canvas, ornamented with gilt globes and spires, forming a wall, within which were erected a great number of splendid pavilions, richly furnished, some of which were used as rooms of state, some as banqueting halls, others for retirement or repose; while an inner inclosure contained the apartments of the ladies, all fitted up in the most costly and elegant manner. This inclosure, as we are told, occupied an area of full five miles in circumference.

The birthday of the Emperor was an occasion on which there was always a grand exhibition of wealth. It was celebrated by the court in an extensive plain, near the capital, which was covered with superb tents, that of the Emperor, of course, surpassing all the rest in the splendour of its decorations, the carpets being of silk and gold tissue, and the hangings of velvet, embroidered with pearls. At the upper end was

placed the throne, on which Akber sat to receive the homage of the nobles, who were presented with dresses, jewels, horses, elephants, or other gifts, according to their rank. But the most extraordinary display of the munificence, as well as the riches of the Emperor, was made on his causing himself to be weighed in golden scales three times, the first balance being of gold pieces, the second of silver, the third of perfumes, all which were distributed among the spectators that crowded the plain. He also threw, in sport, among the courtiers, showers of gold and silver nuts, and other fruits, for which even the gravest of the ministers were not too dignified to scramble; and these were worn as favours for the rest of the day.

The favourite residence of the Emperor was at Fattehpur Sikri, a town which he built himself, in the province of Agra, where his spacious palace of white marble, and a magnificent mosque near it, are still standing in good preservation, although the town itself is nearly deserted. The walls and citadels of Agra and Allahabad were erected by this prince, who ornamented them in the Indian style, with turrets, domes, and battlements, and each gateway was a stately edifice that would have formed a noble entrance to a royal palace. Allahabad, now so well known as an important British military station, is a very ancient city, and derives a peculiar sanctity from its situation at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, which causes it to be frequented by pilgrims, who repair thither for the purpose of bathing at the sacred spot where the waters meet. Agra was the chief seat of government during this and the succeeding reign, and was greatly embellished by Akber with many fine buildings; but, as in most Hindū towns, the streets were narrow and unpaved, while the houses had a very gloomy appearance, being five or six stories high, and built chiefly of brick, with very small windows, placed at a great height.

Among the architectural works of the Emperor Akber was a splendid mausoleum, erected at Delhi, in honour of his father, Humayun. It is a vast edifice of white marble, surmounted by a dome of the same material, and standing on a high terrace; so that it is visible at a great distance, and forms a magnificent feature in the landscape; but its once beautiful gardens are gone to decay, like most other monuments of the former wealth and grandeur of Hindūstan.

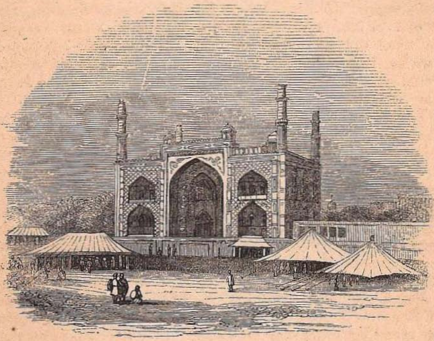
It was during the reign of Akber, that the first Christian missionaries were received at the court, to which they were invited by the Emperor himself. They were sent by the Portuguese government from Goa, and resided at Agra fifteen years, where they were treated with great respect, and allowed to hold discussions on the subjects of religion with the priests of other persuasions, in the presence of the Emperor, who was accustomed, on a Friday evening, to assemble all the most learned men of his court, for the purpose of holding discussions, when Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, Bramins, and Fire-worshippers, are all allowed to give their opinions without restraint, and to support them by argument. This enlightened sovereign instituted many public schools, both for Hindūs and Mohammedans, where every boy was educated according to his prospects in life, and the circumstances of his parents; but most Hindūs of rank had their children instructed at home by Bramins, who taught them usually to read and write in several languages, of which there were not less than ten spoken in various parts of India.

During the latter years of the reign of Akber, the Portuguese power in the Indian seas had been almost superseded by that of the Dutch, in consequence of the tyranny of Philip of Spain, who had prohibited the commerce between Holland and Lisbon; thus unintentionally forcing the Dutch to go to India for their spices and silks, instead of procuring them, as heretofore, in the capital of Portugal, which was the great European mart for Indian commodities. The Dutch obtained several naval victories over the Portuguese, and about the time of Akber's death, were in possession of the Spice Islands, and had fully established their supremacy on the seas of India.

But a far more important circumstance as regards the history of that country, was the incorporation of a British East India Company, by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600, when the English began to make voyages to the Indies, where, for a long time, they met with very little success, owing to the opposition of the Dutch and Portuguese, who, though enemies to each other, were equally interested in keeping such formidable rivals as the English out of the field. It was not, therefore, till after the death of Akber that any settlement was gained by the English, or permission to trade to India granted

to them by the Emperor, who, at that time, was usually styled in this country the Great Mogul.

Akber died in the year 1605, having reigned forty-nine years. He was buried at Agra, where, over his remains, a splendid tomb of white marble was erected, which was of such vast dimensions, that, in 1803, it afforded lodging to a whole regiment of British dragoons, who made it their quarters for some time after the conquest of that territory.



Gate of Akber's Mausoleum.

The last moments of Akber were recorded by his successor. The dying Emperor requested that all his omrahs should be brought to his bed-side. When they were assembled, he delivered a suitable address to them; and, after wistfully looking at them all round, he desired them, the companions of his glory, to forgive any offences of which he might have been guilty towards any of them. He pointed to his favourite scymitar, and made signs to his son, Selim, to bind it on in his presence. This ceremony is, among the Turks of the present day, equivalent to a coronation. He entreated his son to be kind to the ladies of his family, and never to forget or

to forsake his old friends and dependents. He repeated the Mohammedan brief confession of faith, and died in all the forms of a good Mussulman. He was endowed with great personal strength and activity. In his youth he indulged in wine and good living, but early became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food one day out of four. Like most great men, he was always satisfied with very little sleep. Although constantly engaged in wars or in concerting improvements in government, by a judicious distribution of his time, he generally enjoyed abundant leisure for study and amusement. No prince or man was ever fonder of active, manly exercise. Without any particular necessity, he would ride upwards of two hundred miles in two consecutive days; he would very often walk thirty or even forty miles a day on foot. His history is filled with instances of the most romantic courage. Yet it cannot be said that he showed fondness for war. He took the field whenever he deemed it necessary, and remained in it until the fate of the war was decided; but then he returned to the seat of government, and left his lieutenants to finish the military operations. In some cases the campaigns were very long; but his conquests, when concluded, were complete. No part of India, except that near the capital, can be said to have been thoroughly subdued by the Moguls, until his time. We learn from a Portuguese missionary, who visited his court, that he was white like a European, singularly affable, and of sagacious intellect. He was passionately fond of poetry and of literature in general, and literature has repaid his affection by recording his sayings and doings. To this day, no name is more frequently on the lips of the Mussulmans of India than that of the Great Akber.

JEHANGHIR.

THE Emperor Akber was succeeded by his son Selim, who assumed the presumptuous title of Jehanghir, or Conqueror of the World; and, although not equal to his illustrious father in ability, was a great sovereign, under whose dominion the empire lost none of its power and splendour. The early part of his reign was distinguished by his marriage with one of the most beautiful and talented women that ever appeared in the East, the celebrated Nur Jehan, who is better known in tales of fiction by the name of Nur Mahal, or the "Light of the Harem."

The life of Nur Jehan is full of romantic interest. Her father, the son of a Persian nobleman, had been reduced by a series of misfortunes to a state of poverty that induced him, at length, to leave his native country, in the hope of obtaining some employment in India. Accompanied by his wife and family, he joined a caravan that was going to Delhi; and on the way, in the city of Candahar, was born the future empress of the country to which her parents were journeying to seek a livelihood. The distressed condition of the mother and child excited the compassion of a rich merchant belonging to the caravan, who showed great kindness to the whole family during the rest of the journey; and, being a man of some consideration, had influence enough to obtain for the father a subordinate employment at the court of the Emperor Akber. The little girl, who had been the unconscious cause of her father's introduction to so good a friend, soon began to attract notice by her extraordinary beauty, and, as she grew older, was almost constantly with the ladies of the harem, where

Selim used frequently to see her, and was no less fascinated by her sprightly wit than by the graces of her person.

The attachment is supposed to have been mutual; but the young lady, whose father had been raised to a high post at the court, was already affianced to a Persian officer in the service of the Emperor, who conferred on him a large estate in Bengal, and hastened the marriage for the purpose of removing the dangerous beauty to a distance from her royal lover. The prince also married; but as it was allowable for him to have as many wives as he pleased, he had no sooner come to the throne than he determined to obtain his first love, whose absence had produced no change in his affection; and, with that view, he induced the viceroy of Bengal to devise some pretext for placing the husband in confinement for a few days, during which the lady might be carried off from his house and conveyed to the capital. The viceroy accordingly sent for Shere Afgan, the husband, who, having a suspicion that some wrong was intended, concealed a dagger in his dress, which he drew forth on the first symptom of violence, and stabbed the viceroy to the heart. The guards instantly rushed forward and struck down the assailant with their scymitars. His death, therefore, which ensued immediately, was the consequence of his own rashness, and not the contrivance of the Emperor; although it appears that his wife was not at first satisfied of that fact, since it was a long time before she would consent to marry Jehanghir, notwithstanding her early attachment. At length, however, being convinced of his innocence, she gave him her hand, and the nuptials were celebrated with great splendour.

Few women, perhaps, ever enjoyed so high a consideration at a Mohammedan court, or took so large a share in the government, as Nur Jehan. Her ascendancy over the Emperor was unbounded: he consulted her on all affairs of importance; her name was even associated with his on the coin; and his chief happiness seemed to consist in exalting and surrounding her with honours such as appertain to a reigning sovereign. Nur Jehan made a good use of her influence; and her father, who was raised to the office of Grand Vizier, was one of the best ministers that ever ruled at the court of an eastern prince.

"Nur Jehan's capacity was not less remarkable than her

grace and beauty: it was exerted in matters proper to her sex as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the Emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time; and it is a question in India, whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of ottar of roses. One of the accomplishments by which she captivated Jehanghir is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses." *

In the early part of the reign of Jehanghir, an English captain, named Hawkins, who had been sent out by the East India Company, landed, in the autumn of 1608, at Surat, where he had an interview with the viceroy, who, after raising many objections, gave him permission to dispose of his cargo, but told him he must not bring any more goods to the ports of India, or attempt to establish a factory on the coast, without the permission of the Emperor. The captain soon discovered that this viceroy was leagued with the Portuguese to prevent the English from obtaining a settlement in the country. He therefore determined to make a journey to Agra, and see the Emperor himself. On his arrival in that capital he was immediately admitted to an audience, for Jehanghir was so easy of access that, it is said, he had a cluster of golden bells hung in his private apartment, and attached to a chain outside the palace gate. These bells might be rung by any person who wished to see him out of the regular hours of public business, —a plan he adopted to prevent the attendant officers from refusing to admit a petitioner.

Captain Hawkins presented a letter from his sovereign, James the First, which was translated to Jehanghir by one of the Portuguese Jesuits, of whom there were several at the court. The Emperor was highly pleased with the British officer, invited him every day to the court, conversed with him freely in the Turkish language, and treated him for some time with distinguished favour. At length, however, he suffered himself to be persuaded that if he encouraged the English to trade to his dominions, the Portuguese, who, he was told, were a richer and more powerful nation, would cease to visit his

* Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone, 'Hist. Ind.'

ports, and he would thereby lose all the advantages derived from the commerce of that people, which produced a considerable revenue to the government. In consequence of these representations the Emperor did not grant the request contained in the letter of King James, but dismissed the captain in rather a summary manner; at the same time issuing a mandate, by which the English were forbidden to return to his dominions.

Some of the states of the Deckan were at this time in rebellion, and most of them ill-governed; in consequence of which all that part of India was in a very disturbed and disorderly state during the whole of the reign of Jehanghir, whose son, Shah Jehan, was engaged for several years in suppressing various insurrections. In consequence of these wars between the Emperor and the native princes, many of the towns bore signs of devastation in almost every part.

In the mean time the English continued to make voyages to different ports, but with very little success, until 1616, when a regular embassy was sent to the court of Jehanghir, conducted by Sir Thomas Roe.

Sir Thomas sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, and arrived in September at Surat, where he landed in great pomp with eighty men-at-arms in his train. As the Mogul Emperor was then residing at Ajmir, our envoy, after some rest, proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. He arrived at Ajmir on the 23rd of December, but was not admitted to court till the 10th of January, 1616. The Emperor received him with unusual honour, and he was assured by the Mogul courtiers that no other ambassador, not even from their co-religionists the Mohammedans of Turkey or Persia, had ever obtained so flattering a reception. Many other interviews followed; and, as both the Emperor and ambassador were of a sportive turn, they had, by means of interpreters, some jocular conversation. Sir Thomas, however, soon found that his success was thwarted by the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion or caution of the Emperor's favourite son and ministers.

The envoy was greatly surprised at the familiar manners of the sovereign, and the publicity with which he was surrounded. In the morning he might constantly be seen at the windows of the palace, before which a crowd regularly

assembled; and in the afternoon he always took his seat in the durbar, or hall of audience, where he held both a council of state and a court of justice, which was open to every one.

The palace of Ajmir overlooked an open plain, on which combats of wild elephants and tigers were frequently exhibited for the amusement of the Emperor, who evinced great delight in witnessing them. The princes and nobles of Hindūstan also derived much enjoyment from these barbarous spectacles, and on most grand occasions entertained their guests with similar conflicts, for which purpose a temporary theatre was erected of bamboo, bound tightly together, and high enough to prevent the escape of the tiger, whose opponent was usually a buffalo, which, in its wild state, is a very fierce and powerful animal.

According to Roe, the Emperor kept his state when in public. The scenes he witnessed at his private interviews form a curious contrast to the grandeur with which the great Mogul was even then surrounded. He sate on a low throne all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; and there was a great display of gold plate, vases, and goblets studded with jewels. The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them remaining sober. Jehanghir himself never left off drinking until he dropped to sleep, when the lights were extinguished and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine. But he did not always retain the sociable feelings in the morning. On one occasion, when a courtier indiscreetly alluded in public to a drinking-bout of the preceding night, the Emperor affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. He was always very strict in public, and would never admit a person into his presence who betrayed signs of having been drinking wine. This, however, was of little use: like great men at present, he was surrounded by news-writers, and his most secret proceedings were known to every man in the capital within a few hours after they took place. Although he was sometimes cruel, and sometimes very mean and puerile, Roe considered Jehanghir as a prince wanting neither in good feeling nor in good sense. He speaks highly in some respects of a few great men about the court, but he repre-

sents the class as unprincipled, and all the grandees as open to corruption. He describes the military spirit as already much declined, and speaks of the Rajputs and Patans as the only brave soldiers to be found in India. The treaty Roe had to negotiate hung on for upwards of two years, until he bribed the minister, Asof Khan, with a valuable pearl: then all went on smoothly and well. The English had already obtained permission to establish a factory at Surat. Roe succeeded in procuring a confirmation of former grants, and an extended privilege of having resident English agents at some of the principal towns in the empire. The able ambassador then returned to the coast and sailed to Persia, where he succeeded in obtaining every privilege which could promote the trade of the English East India Company with the Persian Gulf. It has often been remarked that few great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British Empire in India.

In the time of Sir Thomas Roe there was a great influx of Europeans, and considerable encouragement was given to the Church of Rome. Jehanghir had figures of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his rosary; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity with his full approbation.

The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindūstané, and the Emperor and some of his ministers were well versed in Turkish.

Our envoy remarked the extraordinary imitative talent of the people. One of the presents he had brought out from England was a coach; in a very short time several coaches were built, far superior in materials and fully equal in workmanship. He also gave a picture to the Mogul, and was soon after presented with several copies, among which he had great difficulty in distinguishing the original.

Sir Thomas very clearly foresaw the insurrections and rebellions which took place not very long after his departure for Persia and England. The relation of his Embassy well merits to be read at full length. It contains much information that may be useful even now.

As Jehanghir advanced in years, his life was embittered by the rebellion of his son, Shah Jehan, who had great reason to apprehend that the Emperor, acting under the influence of his Empress, Nur Mahal, intended to nominate the husband of

that lady's daughter as his successor to the throne. It was with a view of counteracting this design that he openly raised his standard in opposition to that of his father, and seized on the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, from which he led a body of troops to secure the fortress of Allahabad; but the Emperor had sent out an army, under the command of Mohabat Khan, to intercept his march; and a battle took place near Allahabad, where he was defeated and obliged to seek shelter in the Deckan. All his former adherents now deserted him; and finding that there was no hope of establishing his claim by force, he wrote a humble and repentant letter to his father, who replied to it by demanding that he should send his two sons, Dara Sheko and Aurengzebe, as hostages for his future good behaviour. The young princes were accordingly sent to their grandfather; but before the monarch had granted a pardon to his rebellious son, his own career was brought to a close, his death being preceded by some remarkable events.

Mohabat Khan, a nobleman of great ability and the chief commander of the army, had incurred the displeasure of the Empress, whose unbounded influence over her husband empowered her to ruin any individual who might be imprudent enough to excite her enmity. Mohabat, who, after his victory over Shah Jehan, had remained in occupation of Bengal, was very much astonished at receiving an order from the Emperor to repair immediately to his camp to answer certain charges brought against him, which he knew to be utterly false. Still it was necessary to obey the summons; and he set out, attended by a guard of five thousand Rajputs, on whose fidelity he could safely rely. Immediately before his departure, he had betrothed his daughter to a youth of noble family, without applying to the Emperor for his consent, as was customary among the Mohammedan nobles; and Jehanghir, who was in no frame of mind to overlook such an offence, vented his wrath on the unoffending bridegroom, whom he caused to be beaten almost to death, having previously seized the dowry he had received from Mohabat. The indignant father-in-law determined to revenge the insult, proceeded at once with his army of Rajputs to the tents of his royal master, who was encamped on the banks of the Hydaspes, but had sent his troops over the river, intending to follow in the course of the day. The monarch was reposing on a couch when a rude noise dis-

turbed his slumbers, and starting up, he saw himself surrounded by armed men, and recognizing Mohabat Khan, exclaimed, "Traitor, what means this?" Mohabat, kneeling before him with a look of deep humility, declared that no treason was intended, but begged that his majesty would rise and mount his elephant, that the people might see that he was safe; and as Jehanghir had no means of resistance, he was obliged to comply, and rode in the midst of the soldiers, by the side of Mohabat, to the tent of that chief, who had thus boldly made him a prisoner.

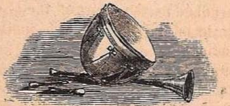
No sooner was Nur Mahal informed of the capture of her lord, than she set out to join the army.

"The bridge had been burned by the Rajputs, and the army began to pass by a dangerous ford. It was a narrow shoal between deep water, and full of dangerous pools; so that the passage was not effected without the utmost disorder; many were obliged to swim, and all landed with their powder wetted, weighed down with their drenched clothes and armour; and in this condition, and before they could make good their footing on the opposite bank, they were obliged to engage hand to hand with the enemy. Nur Jehan, on her elephant, was among the foremost: with difficulty she effected a landing, but she found it impossible to make any impression on the foe. The Rajputs had the advantage of the ground; they poured down showers of balls, rockets, and arrows on the troops in the ford, and, rushing down on those who were landing, drove them back into the water sword in hand. A scene of universal tumult and confusion ensued; the ford was choked with horses and elephants; some fell and were trampled under foot, others sunk in the pools and were unable to regain the shoal, and numbers plunged into the river, and ràn the chance of making good their passage, or being swept away by the stream. The most furious assault was directed on Nur Jehan: her elephant was surrounded by a crowd of Rajputs; her guards were overpowered and cut down at its feet; balls and arrows fell thickly round her howdah; and one of the latter wounded the infant daughter of Shehriár, who was seated in her lap. At length her driver was killed; and her elephant, having received a cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and soon sunk in deep water, and was carried down by the stream. After several plunges, he swam out and reached the

shore, when Nur Jehan was surrounded by her women, who came shrieking and lamenting, and found her howdah stained with blood, and herself busy in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the infant. Fedái Khan had made another attempt, during the confusion of the battle, to enter the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and had penetrated so far that his balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehanghir was seated; but the general repulse forced him also to retire. He effected his retreat, wounded, and with the loss of many of his men, and immediately retired to the neighbouring fort of Rohtás, of which he was the governor."*

The deliverance of the Emperor was, however, shortly accomplished by the ingenious contrivance of Nur Mahal, but he died very soon afterwards, and Shah Jehan, with the powerful support of Mohabat Khan, took possession of the throne, in the year 1627. "Among the occurrences of Jehanghir's reign may be mentioned an edict against the use of tobacco, which was then a novelty. It would be curious, as marking the epoch of the introduction of a practice now universal in Asia, if the name of tambácu, by which it is known in most eastern countries, were not of itself sufficient to show its American origin.†"

* Elphinstone. † Hon. M. Elphinstone, 'Hist. Ind.'



SHAH JEHAN.

HE splendour of the Mogul Empire was never so great, even in the time of Akber, as during the reign of Shah Jehan, whose taste for profuse expenditure exhibited itself in every possible form. He built new palaces in all the principal cities, and lavished vast sums of money on shows and festivals. His retinue was more numerous, and his whole establishment on a grander scale than that of his predecessors; and, altogether, he was perhaps the most magnificent sovereign, with regard to wealth, that ever reigned in India. The most brilliant specimen of his extravagance was the celebrated Peacock Throne, resplendent with diamonds, which is supposed to have cost six millions sterling. It took its name from its principal ornament, a peacock with a spreading tail, the colours of which were represented by different kinds of precious stones. This glittering appendage to the court of the Great Mogul is subsequently mentioned among the rich spoils of the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah.

The influence of the Empress Nur Jehan expired with her husband. She was placed in temporary confinement, and after her release never allowed to take any part in public affairs. She was, however, treated with respect, and allowed a stipend of 250,000*l.* a-year. She wore no colour but white (mourning in India) after Jehanghir's death; she abstained from all amusements, and appeared to devote her life to the memory of her husband. She died in the year 1646, and was buried in a tomb she had herself erected close to that of Jehanghir, at Lahore.

Soon after the accession of Shah Jehan, Mohabat Khan, who had been appointed governor of the Deckan, was commanded to display his military talent in repelling an invasion of the Uzbeks, who had entered Cabul, and after having ravaged the country, had laid siege to the capital. He succeeded in putting these barbarians to flight, but he had scarcely performed this service, before a serious insurrection in the Deckan obliged the Emperor to take the field in person. There was a great chief, named Khan Lodi, who had held a high military command under Jehanghir, to whom he had been faithfully attached, but was now suspected of aiming to establish an independent principality for himself. The Emperor, however, thought it would be prudent to keep on friendly terms with him, as he was very popular in the Deckan, and, with that view, sent for him to the court, where he was honourably received, and lived for some time with his family at Agra, surrounded by a great number of retainers. He probably entertained some doubts of his own security, which were, at length, confirmed by an anonymous communication, warning him to keep on his guard, as the Emperor only waited an opportunity to imprison him on a false charge. Khan Lodi speedily assembled his forces, and marched openly out of the city, at the head of two thousand Afghan warriors, accompanied by twelve of his own sons, and the ladies of his harem, in their howdahs, mounted on elephants.

Khan Lodi was originally an Afghan of low birth, but he had all the pride and unruliness of his nation in India, and it appears that he had ambition enough to aim even at the throne of Delhi. He appears to have been cruel, remorseless, and false and treacherous beyond even the usual Afghan measure. His present proceeding was, naturally, treated as an act of open defiance, and the royal troops were marched off in pursuit of the daring chieftain, who was compelled to give battle, and was defeated. He saved himself, however, though with difficulty, by swimming over a river, and concealed himself among the woods of Gondwana, from which he opened a correspondence with Nizam Shah, the king of Ahmednagar, who promised to assist him. The three great kingdoms of the Deckan had recovered their ancient limits, and Ahmednagar, the most extensive of them, joined the Mogul dominions; therefore the Emperor put himself at the head of his army, and entered the

Deckan in formidable array. Nizam Shah and Khan Lodi met him near Doulatabad, where a battle was fought, in which the Emperor was victorious, and Lodi fled towards the Afghan country; but being overtaken by his enemies, he made a desperate stand with his few followers, and bravely defended himself until he fell, covered with wounds, when his head was cut off, and sent as a trophy to the Emperor.

Khan Lodi overpowered.

One of the most powerful adherents of Khan Lodi during this war, had been Shahjee, a famous Mahratta chief, and the father of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire. The country of the Mahrattas was a mountainous region south of the Nerbuddah river, defended on the west by the Ghauts, and a narrow strip of land between these mountains and sea, called the Concan. Some parts of this tract are very rugged, and almost inaccessible, on account of the thick forests, and mountain torrents rushing down the sides of the steep rocks, but, in other places,

it is fertile, and produces rice, hemp, and cocoa nuts. The sides of the mountains are mostly covered with large trees, but the summits are barren and rocky, and only to be reached by the winding paths, and rude flights of steps, leading to different fortresses; the approaches being guarded by towers and massive gateways, erected by the princes who have ruled over the country at various times. The Mahratta chiefs were not sprung, like the Rajpoots, from a noble race, but were originally Sudras, of the same caste with their own people, and derived their consequence from having long filled the ancient hereditary offices of heads of villages. After the Mohammedan conquests, lands were bestowed on many of these persons for military service; so that almost every Mahommedan prince had his feudal vassals among the Mahratta chieftains, who furnished him with a certain number of troops, according to the extent of his jaghir, or fief. Hindū titles were frequently bestowed with the lands, such as those of Raja, Naick, Rao, and others of less importance; so that a race of Mahratta nobles was created, who, in the time of Shah Jehan, began to be distinguished in history.

Trained to military exercises from their early years, the young Mahrattas were taught to regard learning as a pursuit better adapted to Bramins than to soldiers; and as few of them could either read or write, every great chief kept in his employ a number of Bramins, as writers, and men of business, some of whom managed his estate and private affairs, while others were employed in public transactions, and often sent on embassies, in which capacity they were called Vakeels.

The women in the Mahratta country were treated with great respect, and are often found taking a considerable share in public affairs, when the death of a husband, or the minority of a son, made it desirable that they should do so; and, for this reason, widows were, in most cases, dissuaded from sacrificing themselves on the funeral pile. At the death of her husband, therefore, a lady of rank generally laid aside the veil which, during his life, she had always worn, as it was considered undignified to appear unveiled in the presence of men, except where the lady was required to supply the places of the absent chief.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century, the Mahrattas were held under supremacy by the two chief sove-

reigns of the Deckan, the kings of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, particularly by those of Bijapur, a distinguished race of princes known as the Adil Shah dynasty. The capital of that once great kingdom is now in ruins; but its splendid mosques, mausoleums, and palaces, although falling into decay, are among the grandest works of art that are met with in southern India. Among these the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who was reigning when the Portuguese took the town of Goa, holds a distinguished place, both for its immensity, and the elegance of its structure. Ibrahim Adil Shah entrusted the affairs of his government chiefly to the Mahratta Bramins, whose general influence was thereby greatly increased; and he numbered among his vassals some of the most powerful chiefs of the country. The kings of Ahmednagar had also their vassal chiefs, amongst whom the greatest was Jadu Rao, who held a jaghir for the maintenance of ten thousand horse soldiers, and had, like all other men of wealth and influence, a vast number of followers and dependents. One of these was Malojee Bonsla, the head of a small village near Doulatabad, who, through the patronage of Jadu, had obtained a command in the armies of the sovereign of Ahmednagar, but still was classed among the retainers of Jadu Rao, until a singular incident placed them on very different terms with each other.

It was customary among the Hindūs for all great men to invite their dependents to their houses to celebrate the festival of the Holi, on which occasion they were at liberty to take their children with them; and Malojee Bonsla went in the year 1599, accompanied by his son Shahjee, a fine boy about five years of age, to the residence of his patron Jadu Rao, to enjoy the festivities of the season. The noble countenance of the young Shahjee attracted the notice of Jadu, who seated him on his knee, and calling his own little daughter to him, a child of three years of age, he asked her playfully if she would have that pretty boy for her husband, to which she readily assented, and threw some balls of red powder at him, which caused much laughter among the company. But great was the surprise of the little lady's father, when Malojee, rising, appealed to all present to bear witness that their chief had affianced his daughter Jeejee to Shahjee Bonsla; and

none could deny the fact, although every one was sensible that he had done so only in jest.

For some time Jadu would scarcely believe that Bonsla was serious in his pretensions, and his wife was extremely incensed, both at the presumption of the dependent and the folly of her lord, in having degraded himself so far as to match his daughter, even in sport, with the son a person so much beneath him. The ambitious Malojee, however, resolved to carry his point, and, with that view, must have turned his attention in the first instance to the accumulation of wealth, as he became very rich in the course of a few years. This rapid acquisition of riches might have excited much astonishment among a people less given to superstition than the Hindūs, but Malojee solved the mystery to their satisfaction, by affirming that the goddess Devi had appeared to him in a dream, and pointed out a spot where a great treasure was concealed, at the same time declaring that one of his family was destined to be a king. Whatever might have been the means by which Malojee acquired his riches, he made a good use of them, by constructing wells and tanks, and other useful public works. He also increased the number of his cavalry, and eventually obtained, at the court of Ahmednagar, the title of Raja, with a considerable jaghir, comprising two forts, with their districts, and the village of Poonah, afterwards the capital of the country. Jadu Rao was no longer averse to the marriage of Shahjee with his daughter Jeejee Bye. The nuptials, therefore, were celebrated, and with great pomp, the king himself honouring the feast with his presence. The word Bye added to a name in India means lady: thus Jeejee Bye signifies the Lady Jeejee.

It has already been stated that Shahjee Bonsla was one of the partizans of Khan Lodi, but after the fall of that chief, he tendered his services to the new emperor, Shah Jehan, from whom he received fresh grants of land in return. Sevajee, his son, the celebrated founder of the Mahratta empire, was born just before the rebellion of Khan Lodi, in the same year that Shah Jehan ascended the Imperial throne. His father and mother then lived very happily together; but when he was about three years of age, Shahjee, with a view of strengthening his family connections, took

another wife, at which Jeejee was so much offended that she left him, and went to reside with her own relations, taking with her the little Sevajee, who was her favourite child, and leaving his elder brother with his father. Sevajee was married at the age of seven, on which occasion both his parents were present, and a partial reconciliation took place between them.

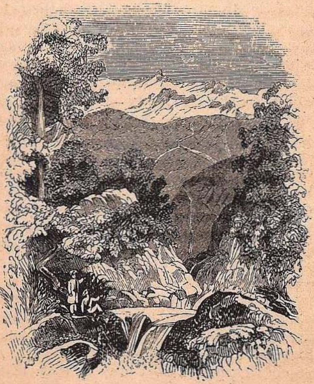
Shahjee, who was going upon some distant expedition, then placed his young son under the care of his head Bramin, who built a large house at Poonah for the Lady Jeejee, and took care that the youth should be instructed in all fitting accomplishments, such as horsemanship, hunting, and military exercises, all of which were eminently suited to his taste. He was also fond of listening to the romantic tales and ballads of the country, from which he imbibed that daring spirit of adventure for which he was afterwards distinguished. His fondness for such fictions, even when he had passed the days of boyhood, frequently led him into great dangers, as he would venture, in disguise, among his deadliest foes, to be present at a Kutha, which is a popular amusement among the Mahrattas, consisting of recitations, songs, and tales, related by professional story-tellers. The favourite companions of the young chieftain were the leaders of some of the neighbouring hill tribes, in whose exploits he was often suspected of taking an active part; nor could the admonitions of his guardian Bramin restrain his adventurous spirit, or detach him from such lawless associates.

In the meantime several revolutions had taken place in the kingdom of Ahmednagar, the king of which had been assassinated; and, in the confusion that ensued, Shahjee had taken possession of the throne, the true heir, an infant, having been made prisoner by the Imperial forces. The usurper was speedily dethroned by Shah Jehan, who once more took the field in person, and put an end to that monarchy, which was thus annexed to the Mogul dominions, in the year 1637, when Shahjee entered the service of the Emperor. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda were reduced to subjection shortly afterwards, but were not extinguished like that of Ahmednagar, as Shah Jehan contented himself with making their kings tributary to the Mogul empire.

It was evident, thus early, that the Mahrattas would make

themselves a great power in India. The prospect was not flattering, for they were a rude, gross, turbulent, lawless race, ever greedy for the plunder of their neighbours, and atrociously cruel.

Shah Jehan built the new city of Delhi, which far surpassed the old one in point of magnificence. The palace was a noble structure, and was well protected by a deep moat and strong walls. It stood on a spacious esplanade, approached by a wide handsome street, through which flowed the famous canal of Ali Merdan Khan, a grand work, executed by a Persian of that name, in the reign of Shah Jehan. Ali Merdan had been the governor of Candahar, under the Shah of Persia, whose tyranny having driven him to revolt, he gave up the city to the Mogul Emperor, and took refuge at the court of Delhi, where he distinguished himself very highly by his great talents, in constructing useful public works, of which the canal still bears ample testimony. This fine aqueduct



Source of the Jumna.

conveyed the waters of the Jumna in a pure state, from the point where the river leaves the mountains, to the city of Delhi, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. The water which it furnished was not only the drink of the inhabitants, but the source of vegetation in the beautiful gardens around the capital. At a later period, during the troubles that attended the decline of the Mogul empire, the canal was so entirely neglected, that it became choked up with rubbish, and the luxury of good water was unknown at Delhi for a very long period; until the British government undertook the beneficial task of clearing the canal, which was re-opened in 1820, when the whole population of the city went out rejoicing, to meet the stream, throwing into it sweetmeats and flowers.

The gardens of Shalimar, celebrated in Moore's 'Lalla Rookh,' were constructed by the Emperor Shah Jehan, than whom no prince was ever more fond of luxurious pleasures. Every summer he passed some months in the lovely vale of Cashmere, where with music, dancing, feasting, and excursions by land and water, he beguiled the time in a constant succession of varied enjoyments.

One of the most splendid works of Shah Jehan was the Taj Mahal, the tomb of his favourite Sultana, at Agra. It stands on a stone terrace, on the banks of the Jumna, and is surrounded by extensive gardens. It is built entirely of white marble, and has a large cupola and four elegant minarets. The tomb itself is in the centre of a circular hall, under the dome, and is formed also of white marble, enclosed with an open screen of mosaic, which is wrought into wreaths of flowers of the most exquisite workmanship, and formed of agates, jaspers, lapis lazuli, and various coloured marbles. This elegant memorial of the dead is kept in repair by the British government.

When Shah Jehan had made himself master of so large a portion of the Deckan, he introduced there the same system of assessing the lands, and collecting the revenues, that had been established by Akber throughout northern Hindūstan, where its good effects had been sensibly felt by the agricultural population.

One of the most important occurrences of these times was the acquisition of Candahar, the governor of which, Ali

Merdan Khan, found himself exposed to so much danger from the tyranny of his sovereign, the King of Persia, that he gave up the place to Shah Jehan, and then took refuge at Delhi, where he was received with all honour. Ali Merdan was afterwards, at different times, made governor of Cashmere and Cabul, and employed on various wars and other duties. He excited universal admiration at the court, by the skill and judgment of his public works, of which the canal which bears his name at Delhi still affords a proof, and by the taste and elegance he displayed on all occasions of show and festivity. He carried the Emperor's arms into Balkh and Badakhshan, and defeated the Usbeks in several battles. The Persians made an attack on Candahar, and took it after a siege of two months and a half, when, leaving a strong garrison, they withdrew to Herat. Other wars took place in the mountains and terrible passes of Afghanistan which, of late years, have proved so disastrous to a British army. In the end the Moguls were compelled to quit those regions, and for some time the Persians remained masters of Candahar, which the Moguls never again attempted to recover.

The peace of the Deckan was not of long continuance. It was first disturbed by the king of Golconda, Abdullah Shah, who had for some years paid his tribute regularly, till, in consequence of a quarrel with his vizier, a popular minister named Mir Jumla, he became involved in a new war with the Emperor. The misunderstanding between the king and Mir Jumla arose from some offence given by Amin, the vizier's son, to the monarch, who carried his resentment so far as to dismiss the father from his office. Mir Jumla, considering himself wronged, applied to Prince Aurengzebe, one of the Emperor's sons, who was governor of the Deckan, and who warmly interested himself in behalf of the deposed minister. Influenced by him, Shah Jehan sent an order to the king to reinstate Mir Jumla in his former appointment; but, instead of doing so, the angry Abdullah confiscated his property, and sent his son to prison.

Shah Jehan being indignant at this contempt of his imperial command, instructed Aurengzebe to enforce the obedience of his refractory vassal; on which the prince, without declaring his intention, made a sudden and most unexpected attack on Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda, at the very

time when Abdullah, who was aware of his approach, was preparing an entertainment for him, little suspecting that he had any hostile intent. The city was plundered and set on fire, while the surprised monarch fled in the utmost consternation to a hill-fort, some miles distant, from which he despatched orders for the release of Amin, and the restoration of Mir Jumla's property. But these concessions did not satisfy the prince, who imposed a large increase of tribute, and demanded the hand of Abdullah's daughter, with an enormous dowry, for his son, Sultan Mohammed. Mir Jumla did not return to the court of Golconda, but remained with Aurengzebe; and when that prince became Emperor, he was his chief minister.

About this time, Shah Jehan was seized with so serious an illness, that his recovery was deemed hopeless; and his four sons, who were all aspirants to the imperial throne, began to devise the best means for realizing their respective pretensions. Aurengzebe, the youngest of the four brothers, was a man of remarkably mild temper, but cautious, designing, and a perfect master of the art of dissimulation. Dara Sheko, the eldest, was, on the contrary, open-hearted, impetuous, and rash, even to folly. The other two princes, Sujah and Morad, of whom the former was viceroy of Bengal, the latter of Guzerat, were bold, ambitious leaders, but were not equal to Dara Sheko in spirit, or to Aurengzebe in policy. Each of the four raised an army, and they went to war with each other, while their father was yet alive. The crafty Aurengzebe pretended, at first, to resign in favour of his brother Morad, who thus was induced to join his forces to those of the dissembler, and the two together defeated Dara and Sujah in succession; but while Morad was rejoicing over his fancied success, he was made prisoner by a contrivance of Aurengzebe, who invited him to a supper, and made him drink wine till he was quite insensible, when he was carried off to the citadel, and put in chains. He was afterwards removed to Fort Gwalior, where he died.

Fort Gwalior, the great state-prison of those times, stands on an isolated rock, in the province of Agra, near the town of Gwalior, subsequently famous in the history of British India, and, in modern times, the residence of the powerful

Mahratta chief, Scindia, whose palace occupies one extremity of the hill-fort.

The imprisonment of Morad was not the worst of the many crimes by which Aurengzebe raised himself to the throne of the Mogul empire. Taking advantage of his father's advanced age and the weak state to which his late illness had reduced him, he compelled the unhappy monarch to sign his own abdication; and although a palace was assigned for his residence, and he was treated with the utmost respect during the few remaining years of his life, and solaced by the affectionate attentions of a favourite daughter, still he was in reality his son's prisoner, and obliged to submit where he alone had the right to command.

Let us return to the Mahrattas, whose great hero, Sevajee, now nearly thirty years of age, had been slowly but surely laying the foundation of an empire which was destined to rival that of the Mogul princes. The first acquisition of importance made by the young chief was the fort of Torna, a stronghold about twenty miles south of Poonah, where he soon collected a large band of mountaineers, ready to follow him in any bold enterprise. His first care, however, was to strengthen his fortress, and, in digging among some ruins, he discovered a large treasure in gold; a piece of good fortune which, with true Hindū superstition, he attributed to the liberality of his favourite goddess, Devi, and thence augured well for the success of his plans, the ultimate object of which was to raise himself to the rank of an independent prince. He employed his treasure in building another fort, on a mountain about three miles distant, to which he gave the name of Raighur; and as it was very strongly fortified, it became the chief depository of all the treasures he obtained by plunder, and, with the town attached, was long regarded as the Mahratta capital.

For some years Sevajee pursued his designs so quietly that the government of Bijapur, to which he was lawfully subject, did not take much notice of his aggressions, from which no danger was apprehended; but when he began to plunder rich towns, and carry away their treasures to his castle of Raighur, the king, Mohammed Adil Shah, thought it necessary to interfere; and finding that Sevajee paid no attention to his

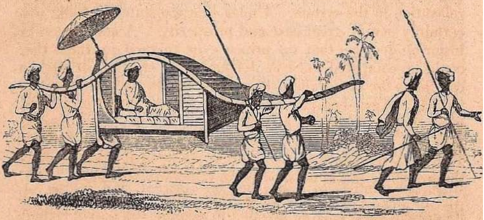
commands, he sent for his father, Shahjee, to remonstrate with him on the subject. Shahjee protested he had no power to control the actions of his son, or prevent his encroachments; but the king mistrusted him; and on receiving news that Sevajee had openly revolted, and seized a convoy of royal treasure in the Concan, he imprisoned Shahjee in a stone dungeon, which was so built up as to leave only a small aperture for the admission of food; and the captive was told that if his son did not submit within a given time, the opening would be closed for ever.

As soon as Sevajee was made aware of the horrible situation in which his father was placed on his account, he applied to the Emperor, Shah Jehan, who gladly received the offer of his services, gave him a high command, and sent an order to Bijapur for the release of Shahjee, who was liberated from the dungeon, but detained under restraint at the court of Bijapur for nearly four years, during which time Sevajee refrained from making any very serious aggressions. No sooner, however, had his father been restored to liberty, than Sevajee returned to his former course, and even invaded the territories of the Mogul empire, just at the time when the illness of Shah Jehan gave rise to the war among his sons, which ended in the usurpation of Aurengzebe. Sevajee had by this time made himself master of the whole of the Concan, with its numerous forts, some of which had been taken by force, others by stratagem; of which the following is an example:—

It was customary for the villagers in the neighbourhood of hill-forts to supply a quantity of grass and palm-leaves, to thatch the houses within the fortress, and to carry in the loads themselves. A party of soldiers, disguised as peasants, one day appeared at the gates of a certain fort with the usual tribute, and were admitted without suspicion, when, throwing down their burthens, they snatched their swords and matchlocks from the bundles of grass they had carried, and falling on the astonished garrison, captured the place with very little trouble.

Soon after Aurengzebe had mounted the throne of Delhi, Sevajee renewed his depredations in the kingdom of Bijapur, where Mohammed Adil Shah had just been succeeded by his son, a youth of nineteen, who sent out a powerful army against

the invader, under the command of an able general, named Afzal Khan, a haughty Mussulman noble, who looked upon the Mahrattas as barbarians, and their chief as a foe scarcely worthy of his attention. Sevajee was under some alarm at the approaching danger, and, in order to gain time, sent an ambassador with offers of submission, to which Afzal was the more inclined to listen, as he thought it desirable to avoid a war in so wild a country. He therefore appointed one of his Bramins to negotiate with the chief, and state the terms on which his submission would be accepted. This treacherous Bramin was won over, by bribes and promises, to enter into a plot against his master, whom he persuaded to give a meeting to the rebel chief, saying that the latter was so completely humbled that he was willing to surrender on any terms, provided he should be assured of the king's pardon by Afzal himself. Afzal agreed to grant him an interview, and was imprudent enough to consent to go unattended to a certain spot appointed for the meeting, as the Bramin said that Sevajee was afraid otherwise to trust himself without a guard, which, under the circumstances, it would not be proper to bring with him. The result was such as might have been expected. Afzal, leaving his escort at some distance, proceeded in his palanquin, accompanied by only one attendant,



to the place of meeting, habited in a thin muslin robe, with no arms but his sword; while Sevajee had put on a shirt of mail under his cotton tunic, had concealed a dagger in its folds, and had also armed his left hand with a steel instrument

used among the Mahrattas, called a tiger's claw, which has three sharp crooked blades, and being fastened on two fingers, may be entirely hidden in the hand. Having thus prepared himself for the deed he meditated, and performed his devotions, he knelt at the feet of his mother to beg her blessing, and then slowly descended the hill to meet his victim.

Afzal Khan advanced a few paces towards him, expecting some mark of homage, when the treacherous chief sprang suddenly, like a tiger, on his prey, fixed his steel claws in his breast, and in an instant had despatched him with his dagger. Then, on a given signal, his men rushed down from several secret paths, and were led on without delay to attack the Mussulman troops, who were waiting, not far off, for the return of their commander, and being unprepared for such an assault, were easily overcome. Those who resisted were killed, but those who surrendered were well treated, and received into the service of Sevajee.

Though his end was unfortunate, the native historians still speak in high praise of Shah Jehan. Notwithstanding his love of ease and pleasure, and the time he spent in his visits to Cashmere and in the erection of those celebrated structures in which he took so much delight, he never remitted his vigilance over his internal government; and by this vigilance, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system. Under him the state of India was certainly one of great ease and prosperity. A contemporary historian declares that no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jehan. The erection of such a capital as the new Delhi proves great private as well as public wealth. Agra became a magnificent city, with fine streets, good shops and bazaars, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences: all the European travellers of that period speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even in remote provinces.

"Those," says Mr. Elphinstone, "who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we still see; with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed causeways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary

travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation. The whole continent of India, however, was far from being in a uniform state: vast tracts were still covered with forests; and the mountainous ranges harboured wild and predatory inhabitants. Even in the best cleared parts there were sometimes revolts of subject Rajas, as in Bundelcund, during this reign; but in that case the disturbance was confined to a district of less extent than the Tyrol, while populous provinces as large as France or England were scarcely aware of its existence. But, after all allowances, the state of the people must have been worse than in an indifferently governed country in *modern* Europe. On the one side there are the absence of slavery and polygamy, less personal oppression by the great, and less fear of scarcity and consequent disease; while on the other there is nothing to oppose but lighter taxation and freedom from a meddling and complicated system of law and regulation. A fairer object of comparison would be the Roman empire under such a prince as Severus; we should there find the same general tranquillity and good government, with similar examples of disturbance and oppression; the same enjoyment of physical happiness, with the same absence of that spirit which would tend to increase the present felicity, and which might afford some security for its duration beyond the life of the reigning monarch. The institutions, traditions, and opinions which remained from better times, must, even in this case, have given a superiority to the European empire."

Shah Jehan was indisputably a most magnificent and money-spending prince. The most striking instance of his pomp and prodigality was his construction of the famous peacock throne. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, a common belief that the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, and other precious stones which formed the chief materials of this royal seat, cost nearly 160,500,000 livres. The fortified palace he erected at Delhi was an extensive and splendid edifice, with spacious courts, marble halls, and golden domes. In the same city he built a great mosque, a work of extraordinary elegance and grandeur. But of all the structures erected by him there is not one that bears any comparison with the Taj Mahal at Agra, which we have already mentioned: the chasteness of the design,

and the general effect, at once brilliant and solemn, are not surpassed by any edifice either in Europe or Asia. All these vast undertakings were managed with so much economy that, after defraying the expenses of his great expeditions to Candahar, his wars in Balkh, and other heavy charges, and maintaining a regular army of 200,000 horse, Shah Jehan left a treasure which some reckon at near six, and some at twenty-four millions sterling, in coin, besides his vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in pearls.

He reigned thirty years; he was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

AURENGZEBE.

THE reign of Shah Jehan terminated with the usurpation of Aurengzebe in 1658. The new Emperor, during the first years of his reign, had to maintain his seat on the throne by force of arms against his two brothers, one of whom, Shuja, having lost a decisive battle, disappeared from Hindūstan, where he was never heard of afterwards; a circumstance that for several years caused the Emperor considerable anxiety, as he was in constant expectation of the return of the fugitive, strengthened, perhaps, by the aid of some foreign power.

Dara, the other brother, was still more unfortunate. He appeared in Guzerat as a rival to Aurengzebe and was readily acknowledged in that country. He was joined by some powerful chiefs and soon occupied the whole of the province, including Surat and Baroch. In less than a month he was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men; and with this force he took up and fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmir. Aurengzebe marched from Agra to meet this dangerous rival, and was soon in front of Dara's position. After cannonading for three days with loss to his own army, he ordered a general assault. It was obstinately resisted for many hours, till the death of one of Dara's great generals, or allies, when the enemy turned and fled. But according to that excellent old traveller Bernier, who was almost an eye-witness of the combat, the fate of the day was decided by a traitor who, when the troops of Aurengzebe were all but defeated, persuaded Dara to dismount from his elephant and get out of the way of further danger. "If Dara had had presence of mind enough to see what would be the effect produced upon the army who had all their eyes upon him when

he should be no longer seen on his elephant, and if he had cut off the head of the rogue that advised him to dismount, he would have been master of the field and of all things; but that good prince allowed himself to be deceived by kind words. When the soldiers saw him no longer mounted, they believed that there was treason in the camp, and that Dara was slain; and forthwith they were seized with a panic, and thought only of escaping from the revengeful hands of Aurengzebe. What shall I say? Everybody disbands and takes to flight. How sudden the change! He who had thought himself victorious sees himself vanquished, abandoned and obliged to flee in order to save his own life. Aurengzebe, for having remained a quarter of an hour longer on his elephant, sees the crown of Hindūstan on his head, and Dara, for having dismounted a minute too soon, sees himself precipitated from the throne, and in the condition of the most unhappy prince in the world. Thus fortune took pleasure in making the gain or the loss of a battle, and the decision of a great empire, depend on a thing of nothing."*

Even the body of horse that adhered to Dara's person gradually straggled and fell off, and some even plundered the treasure which he was endeavouring to save from the wreck of his resources. He reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad after eight days and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season. To this, in the latter part of the march, were added the merciless attacks of the Coolies in the hills, who hung upon his small devoted band and stripped or massacred every man who fell into the rear. It was in the midst of these calamities that Dara was met by the traveller Bernier, then on his way to Delhi. As Dara's wife was wounded and he had no physician, he obliged Bernier to turn back with him, and they remained together for three days. On the fourth day they were within a march of Ahmedabad, where they counted on a secure refuge. They slept that night in a caravanserai, which afforded them protection from the attacks of the Coolies, but was so confined that Bernier was separated only by a canvass screen from the princesses of Dara's family.

* Voyages de François Bernier, docteur en médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier, contenant la description des Etats du Grand Mogul. Amsterdam, 1710.

About daybreak news was brought to Dara that the gates of Ahmedabad were shut against him, and he was told that if he valued his life he would instantly remove from that neighbourhood. The tidings were first made known to Bernier by the cries and lamentations of the women, and soon after Dara came forth half dead with consternation. The bystanders received him with a blank silence, and Bernier could not refrain from tears when he saw him addressing himself to each of them, down to the meanest soldier, conscious that he was deserted by all the world, and distracted with the thoughts of what would become of himself and his family. He resolved to fly towards Sinde. Bernier saw him depart with melancholy forebodings. He was accompanied by only four or five horsemen and two elephants. With these he made his way to Cutch, and was there joined by about fifty horse and two hundred matchlock men, who had followed one of his faithful adherents from Guzerat. The chief of Cutch, who had been hearty in his cause when he thought it would triumph, now received him coldly. He pursued his march and reached the small territory of Jun, on the eastern frontier of Sinde. The chief of the place, an Afghan, was under great obligations to Dara, and welcomed him with every demonstration of gratitude and attachment, while his only thought was how to betray him to his enemies. The journey across the sandy deserts at the hottest season of the year had been terrible. Dara's wife died at Jun of her fatigues and sufferings. Out of his small escort the prince, who had been fondly attached to her, sent a troop with two of his most confidential servants to attend her remains to Lahore; and he remained where he was until the season of mourning had expired. He then renewed his march towards the Indus. The chief of Jun accompanied him for one day, and then returned on some pretext, leaving his brother and a body of troops as if to attend the prince to the frontier. No sooner was he gone than the brother fell upon Dara, made him and his son prisoners, and sent to all the king's officers to announce his capture.

The news reached Aurengzebe while he was celebrating the first anniversary of his accession. He concealed the intelligence until it was confirmed beyond doubt, when he ordered public rejoicings and directed the feast of the accession to be prolonged. It had scarcely expired when his prisoners

arrived at the capital. Dara, by special orders, is brought in loaded with chains, mounted on a sorry elephant, without housings, and was thus conducted through the most populous streets of the city. The sight awakened a general feeling of compassion and indignation; and Bernier, who was present, thought that it must lead to an insurrection. But the sympathy of the people was shown only in tears and groans. After being exposed in all the principal places Dara was conveyed to a prison in old Delhi. A few days after his removal thither a mock consultation was held at court by some of the king's counsellors and some learned lawyers, who pronounced Dara worthy of death as an apostate from the Mohammedan faith. Aurengzebe, with hypocritical reluctance, gave his orders conformably to this sentence. Dara was, with his son, preparing some lentils, the only food they would touch for fear of poisoning, when he saw the executioners and at once guessed his fate. He snatched up a knife which he had just been using and defended himself manfully until beaten down by numbers. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant; his head was carried to Aurengzebe, who ordered it to be placed on a platter, and to be wiped and washed in his presence. When he had satisfied himself that it was indeed the head of his brother Dara, he began to weep, and then with many expressions of sorrow he directed it to be interred in the tomb of Humáyun. The son of Dara was sent off to the fortress of Gwalior, there to be kept as a state prisoner.*

In more than one point this Eastern episode calls to mind the mournful finale of our own Richard II., and the moving drama of Shakspeare. Aurengzebe in character had much in common with Harry of Bolingbroke; he was quite as cunning as that successful revolutionist and usurper. He was a man of a mild temper and a cold heart; cautious, artful, designing; a perfect master of dissimulation, acute and sagacious, though not extended in his views; and ever on the watch to gain friends and to propitiate enemies.†

Aurengzebe for some time affected to despise the power of the Mahrattas, whose chief he contemptuously styled the mountain rat; yet he well knew that Sevajee was a dangerous foe; and in 1662 he appointed his uncle, Shaista Khan, to

* Elphinstone. † Ibid.

the command of an army which he was about to send into the Mahratta country, for the purpose of taking all the forts, and reducing the daring chief to subjection. Shaista Khan, after some fighting, gained possession of Poonah, where he chose for his own quarters the house which had formerly been the residence of the Jeejee Bye, and in which Sevajee had passed his childhood. The chief, who had spies in all directions, was soon informed of this circumstance, which led him to plan and execute a plot that is still related with great exultation by the Mahrattas, as one of his cleverest exploits.

Two Bramins, devoted to his interest, gained over one of the Khan's soldiers, a Hindū, who obtained permission to celebrate a marriage in the usual manner, with a procession. Sevajee had brought with him a band of chosen men, whom he mixed amongst the crowd assembled on the occasion, and contrived to introduce three or four of them at a time into the cavalcade, according to the plan concerted. Having thus joined the procession, they by degrees detached themselves from the party which had not assembled for any real wedding, and proceeded to the house occupied by the Mogul commander, every part of which was so well known to Sevajee, that he led the way silently through a back passage, and thus surprised the occupants, who were cut down before they had time to see who were their assailants. The khan, however, saved his life, by making his escape through a window. The retreat of the Mahrattas was so rapid, that they were beyond reach of pursuit ere the horrible scene that had just been enacted was known in the Mogul camp; and Sevajee, with his daring band, were seen ascending to their fort at twelve miles distance, amid a blaze of torches, which they had lighted to display their triumph. The Mogul invasion was altogether unsuccessful, and the army was eventually withdrawn from the country.

Not long after the events above narrated, the Mahratta chieftain undertook an expedition against the rich city of Surat, which, for six days, was plundered by his barbarian troops, who carried off an immense booty to Raighur, chiefly the property of the citizens; for although they made great efforts to force the English and Dutch factories, they were not able to succeed, on account of the gallant manner in which they were defended. The English distinguished themselves

very highly on this occasion, not only by saving the property of the East India Company, but in assisting the inhabitants of the town, who would have suffered to a greater extent, but for their generous protection. Aurengzebe, in return for their services, granted them a perpetual exemption from a part of the customs exacted from the merchants of other nations trading to Surat.

The frequent incursions of the Mahrattas, and the arbitrary exactions of the Emperor's officers, had long made it desirable for the English to have some place of their own, which they might fortify against such aggressions; and about two years before the plunder of Surat, the wished-for opportunity was afforded by the marriage of Charles the Second, who received with his bride, Catherine of Portugal, the island of Bombay, with its dependencies, as a part of her dowry; and it was thus that the crown of Great Britain obtained its first territorial possession in India. The island, however, did not yield a sufficient revenue to pay the expenses of the establishment formed upon it; and about six years afterwards, its entire sovereignty was made over to the East India Company, who, in 1687, transferred the presidency of their other settlements from Surat to Bombay, which has from that time been the capital of their dominions on the western side of the peninsula.

In the mean time their possessions on the eastern side were rising into importance. They had an extensive factory at Masulipatam, the chief emporium for the cottons and muslins of Bengal; and another at Hoogley, a considerable city on the river of that name, connected with the Ganges, where the Portuguese, Danes, and Dutch had also settlements. While the English were thus gradually increasing their power and possessions in India, the French, after having made some unsuccessful attempts to establish factories at Surat and other ports, formed a permanent settlement at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, which they purchased, in 1672, of the King of Bijapur; and this was their capital at a later period, during their struggle with the English for supremacy in India.

Shahjee Bonsla died soon after the Mahratta attack on Surat, when Sevajee immediately assumed the title of Raja, and began to coin money in his own name, which was

equivalent to a declaration of independent sovereignty, and was therefore regarded as an open act of rebellion by the Emperor, who sent out so powerful an army against him, that he found it expedient to make peace by giving up half his territories, and consenting to hold the rêst as a jaghir or fief of the empire. In return for these concessions, Aurengzebe made a grant to the chief of a portion of the revenue derived from certain districts under the government of the king of Bijapur, which he was to collect himself; and this grant gave rise to the claim made and enforced by the Mahrattas, in later times, to the well-known contribution of the chout, which afforded them constant pretexts for invading foreign possessions.

Aurengzebe was at this time engaged in war with the king of Bijapur, and Sevajee, as the holder of a jaghir, was bound to assist him. On this occasion, Sevajee performed some signal services for the empire, and was, in consequence, invited to court, whither he repaired, naturally expecting to receive some signal mark of favour; instead of which, to his great surprise and indignation, he was treated with coldness and contempt by the haughty sovereign, who scarcely deigned even to notice his presence. Sevajee, burning with resentment, allowed some violent expressions to escape him; which being repeated to Aurengzebe, led to the imprisonment of the chief, whose escape is one of the many extraordinary adventures of his eventful life. Under a pretence of being ill, he was visited by a Hindū physician, who was soon made a partner in the plot, and who secured some confederates among the Bramins, to whom Sevajee, still feigning sickness, sent daily large baskets of provisions to be distributed among the poor.

These charities excited no suspicion, as it was very usual for rich men, when ill, to give alms, and make presents to Bramins; therefore, the baskets, after having been once or twice examined, were suffered to pass without inquiry. At length he ventured to trust himself in one of these hampers, the bearers having been bribed not to complain of its unusual weight; and he was thus safely conveyed to the house of a Bramin, who was in the secret, and had prepared a disguise and a horse; by the aid of which he reached his own capital, before his escape was known at Delhi. Shortly afterwards, he concluded a fresh treaty of peace with Aurengzebe, who

granted him a new accession of territory in Berar, and acknowledged his title of Raja.

Being now a more powerful prince than either the king of Bijapur or of Golconda, he demanded tribute of both these monarchs; who, to avoid a contest with so formidable a foe, were obliged to submit to this humiliation. Hitherto Sevajee had been considered more in the light of the chief of numerous banditti, than as the head of a powerful state; for his government had as yet assumed no regular form, and his whole attention had been engrossed by the conquest of forts, and the accumulation of treasure; but he now began to make those regulations which have given him a place in history as the founder of a great empire. His chief minister, called the Peishwa, was a Bramin of high rank, and all his civil officers were of that caste. A Superintendent, who was always a Bramin, was appointed over every two or three villages, to see that the cultivators were not oppressed by the headmen, and that their rents were proportioned to the state of the crops: the amount paid to the government being equal to about two-fifths of the produce.

The army also was well regulated, and many Bramins were attached to it as accountants. The soldiers, who found their own arms and habiliments, generally wore cotton drawers and a tunic, with a shawl round the waist, and a turban. They were armed with swords, shields, and matchlocks, added to which, the horsemen carried very long spears. The chiefs wore necklaces of gold or silver, and large ear-rings; but the Mahrattas prided themselves principally on their mustachios, which they allowed to grow to an enormous length, and which gave them a very ferocious appearance. The soldiers were all well paid, and therefore were not entitled to any share of plunder, which, by Sevajee's laws, was the property of the state; and was brought at stated times to his Durbar or treasury, when honours and rewards were bestowed on those who brought the most; so that the wealth of the chief was constantly increasing.

In the year 1674, he was solemnly enthroned at Raighur, as an independent sovereign, with all the pomp that attended the inauguration of the Mogul Emperors. On this occasion he was weighed against pieces of gold, which were afterwards distributed among the Bramins, and assumed several grand

titles, one of which was Raja Siva, meaning the Lord of the Royal Umbrella,* one of the chief ensigns of regal dignity. At this ceremony was present a British ambassador, who had been sent to the Mahratta court for the purpose of obtaining some commercial privileges from the new sovereign, who con-

Mahratta Chief.

cluded a treaty, by which the English were allowed to build factories at four places within his dominions, and to trade on certain conditions, to all parts of them.

Though the Mahrattas had never appeared in history as a nation, they had as strongly marked a character as if they had always formed a united commonwealth. Though more like to the lower orders in Hindūstan than to their southern neigh-

bours in Cánara and Telingára, they could never for a moment be confounded with either. The regions they occupied had now a defined frontier. Their country lay between the range of mountains, which stretches along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast through Bidr to Chanda, on the Ganga. That river is its boundary on the east, as the sea is on the west. Much of this country is very mountainous, although the highest of the mountains seldom exceed 5000 feet in height. The summits of the ridges are usually bare detached rocks, or walls of smooth rock. Various Mahratta princes at different times have profited by these positions. They have cut flights of steps or winding roads up the rocks, fortified the entrance with a succession of gateways, and erected towers to command the approaches. They thus studded the whole of the regions about the Ghats, with forts which, but for frequent experience to the contrary, would be deemed impregnable.

No living Englishman has had more to do with the Mahrattas than the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, late resident at Poonah, Governor of Bombay, &c., whose life was more than once put in imminent peril by Mahratta faithlessness, craft, and ferocity. He says of them:—"They are small sturdy men, well made, though not handsome; they are all active, hardy, laborious, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajputs, they have none of their indolence or their want of worldly wisdom. A Rajput warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Mahratta thinks of nothing but the result, and cares little for the means if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his person or even his interest for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations: there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajput; and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajput is the most worthy antagonist; the Mahratta the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them or supply their place by stratagem, activity, and perseverance. All this ap-

plies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might fairly be ascribed. The mere husbandmen are sober, frugal, and industrious; and though they have a dash of the national cunning they are neither turbulent nor insincere.

"Their chiefs in those days were men of families who had for generations filled the old Hindū offices of heads of villages or functionaries of districts, and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. They were all Sudras of the same low caste with their people; though some try to raise their consequence by claiming an infusion of Rajput blood. The early Mohammedan writers do not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Mahrattas. We can perceive by the surnames of some chiefs whom they mention, that they must have belonged to that race; but the word Mahratta first occurs in the year 1485; and is not then applied in a general sense. In the middle of the sixteenth century the King of Bijapur adopted the Mahratta language instead of the Persian, for his financial papers; and as he was substituting natives of the Deckan for foreigners in his armies he enlisted a considerable number of Mahrattas among them. They were at first chiefly employed in the lowest military capacity—that of garrison forts: by degrees their aptitude for service as light cavalry was discovered, and they began to obtain military rank under the governments of Bijapur and Ahmednagar; while individuals were also engaged in the service of the King of Golconda. Still they are very little mentioned by the Indian Mussulman writers until the beginning of the seventeenth century."*

We shall come upon these perfidious and dangerous clans at a future period, when they engaged in war with the British, and when they ventured to encounter in the field Lord Lake, the immortal Duke of Wellington, and other generals; and we shall then catch other glimpses of their character, conduct, and modes of carrying on war. At this moment, though little more than half a century after they had been first heard of, they often proved a match for the armies of Aurengzebe.

The wars between the Mahrattas and Moguls were very injurious to the British trade in India, as both powers had fleets of galliots, which engaged repeatedly in the harbour of

* Hist. Ind.

Bombay; and either party would have taken the British factories, had they not been resolutely defended. In the meantime, Amin, the son of Mir Jumla, whose quarrels with the king of Golconda, it may be remembered, first introduced him to the notice of Aurengzebe, was appointed to the government of Cabul, where he engaged in wars with the Afghans, who about this time set up a king, and coined money in his name. Great efforts were made to keep these warlike tribes in subjection; and so anxious was the Emperor to prevent them from becoming an independent nation, that for some years he took upon himself the chief conduct of the war; but he never gained any real authority over the Afghan country, and was obliged in the end to rest satisfied with the nominal submission of one of the chiefs, and to terminate the war on conditions that were but very imperfectly observed.

About this time Aurengzebe began to adopt a very harsh line of conduct towards the Hindūs, whom he excluded from all public offices, and prohibited from worshipping their idols with shows and festivals, according to their ancient customs. Edicts were issued against public dancers and singers, of whom there were great numbers attached to the temples; and even the poets and astrologers were forbidden to exercise their vocations. These orders, although but little attended to, revived all the ancient hatred of the Hindūs towards their Mohammedan conquerors, which had been almost extinguished by the judicious government of former rulers; but as most of these new rules could be evaded, none of them caused such universal discontent as the revival of the capitation tax, which was the more obnoxious, as it made an invidious distinction between the Mohammedans and Hindūs; thus marking the latter as a conquered people.

The general abhorrence of this measure was evinced on the Friday following its announcement at Delhi, by the assembling of vast crowds of the lower orders in the streets, as the Emperor, according to custom, was going in procession to the mosque. He was saluted with loud murmurs on every side; but instead of giving ear to the complaints of his subjects, as his great ancestor Akber would have done, he angrily commanded his guards to force a passage through them, when horses and elephants were pushed forward among the dense throng, and numbers of persons were trampled to death.

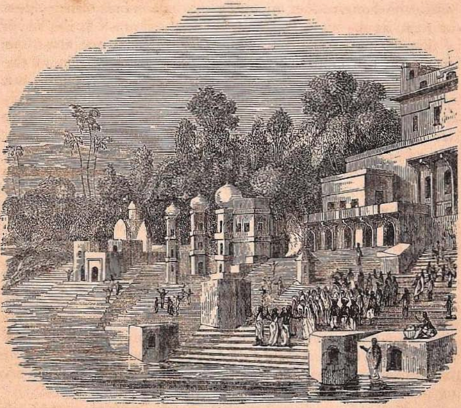
The arbitrary and unfeeling conduct of the Emperor on this occasion produced the intended effect of enforcing the payment of the tax, but it raised up a host of enemies to the Mogul dominion, among the whole body of the Rajputs, who had till then been the faithful supporters of the throne. Aurengzebe soon became aware of the disaffection of the Rajputs, but his temper was too haughty to admit of his adopting any conciliatory measures; and he was unwise enough to add fuel to the flame, by acting in an oppressive manner towards the widow and infant sons of the deceased Rana of Oudipur, the chief of the Rajput princes. The Rana died at Cabul, and the lady, immediately after his funeral obsequies, set out for India with her children, to secure the inheritance of her eldest son; but as she had no passport, she was stopped at the Indus by the Mogul authorities, who refused to let her cross the river. The soldiers who formed her escort, in defiance of the Emperor's officers, carried their royal charge over a ford, but they were overtaken, and the whole party conveyed as prisoners to the camp of Aurengzebe, who ordered that the Ranee and the young princes should be kept in close confinement. His Rajput troops, indignant at the insult thus offered to the family of one of their own chiefs, contrived the escape of the captives, who reached their own territories in safety; but this open act of disobedience, with other manifestations of hostile feeling, drew upon the Rajputs the resentment of the Emperor, who sent bodies of soldiers into their country of Ajmir, to burn their villages, destroy their crops, cut down their fruit-trees, and carry off the women and children for slaves.

These inhuman orders were but too faithfully executed; and from that time Aurengzebe was held in detestation, not only by the Rajput race, but by all Hindūs, especially in the Deckan, where the people began to look with hope to the rising power of the Mahrattas, as a means of delivering them from the government of the Moguls.

It must be borne in mind that the Mahrattas, though of inferior caste, are all Hindūs, adhering, though not very scrupulously, to the ancient religion and law. In the eyes of most of the Indian people, they were champions of the faith, and native patriots fighting against the Mussulman conquerors. The Mahrattas had their bards—though not in such numbers as the chivalrous Rajputs—and their victories and

political aspirations were put into songs and ballads, some of which are still sung by the people.

Sevajee was now dead. His loss was deeply mourned by his people, who admired him as a warrior, and respected him as a sovereign. With the exception of the murder of Afzal Khan, few crimes or acts of inhumanity are laid to the charge of this great chief, even by his enemies, who allow that he possessed extraordinary talents and many virtues. At the time of his death, his possessions, both in treasure and territory, were immense; the former amassed by plunder, the latter extended partly by grant, and partly by conquest. He



Widow of Rana of Audipur stopped at the Indus.

left two widows, one of whom manifested her affection and constancy by sacrificing herself on the funeral pile; while the fate of the other was still more dreadful, as, in consequence of the jealousy of Sambajee, the eldest son and successor of her deceased husband, she was put to a lingering death.

Raja Ram, the son of this unfortunate lady, was preferred to his elder brother, by the Bramin ministers, who wished to place him on the throne; but Sambajee, supported by the soldiers, arrived in the capital before they had effected their object; and having sent his brother to the fort, and put his father's widow to death, he imprisoned some of the Bramins, and gave orders for the execution of all other persons who had declared in favour of Raja Ram, but who were not protected, like the Bramins, by their sacred profession. But even this security was of no avail in the case of Amajee Dutto, a Bramin of high rank, who held the office of Public Recorder; for he, with some others, was condemned to be trampled to death by elephants, for engaging in a new conspiracy in favour of Raja Ram.

The Rajputs, owing to the hostile measures adopted by the Emperor, had induced his youngest son, Akber, to join in an insurrection, by promising to place him on the throne. The young prince, at the head of an army of seventy thousand men, advanced towards his father's camp; but just as the royal troops were on the point of giving battle to the insurgents, several chiefs, not Rajputs, who had joined in the rebellion, suddenly deserted, with all their followers; which so materially lessened the forces of Prince Akber, that the project of dethroning the Emperor was abandoned, and the prince fled for safety to the Mahratta court, where he was well received by the new monarch, Sambajee, who afforded him protection for several years.

It was on the arrival of Akber at the court, that Amajee Dutto, who was already in confinement for the attempt to exclude Sambajee from the throne, contrived to send proposals to the fugitive prince, offering to aid him in mounting the throne of Delhi, provided he would espouse the cause of Raja Ram. Akber declined the proposition, and Amajee was executed in the barbarous manner before mentioned, in consequence of the discovery of his intended treason. To cause the death of a Bramin was considered as the height of impiety among the Hindūs; therefore the Raja rendered himself extremely unpopular by enforcing the law against Amajee Dutto; besides which, he proved himself, in all respects, a very unworthy successor of his illustrious father.

During his reign, which lasted only nine years, the Emperor

Aurengzebe was engaged in prosecuting his favourite object of extending the Mogul empire over the whole of the Deckan, by the conquest of the two kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. He conducted the war in person, besieged, and took the capitals, and made prisoners of the kings, both of whom died in captivity. The fine city of Bijapur, no longer the metropolis of a wealthy state, was speedily reduced to its present deserted condition, but its noble mosques, the ruins of its palaces, its lofty walls of hewn stone, and the grand mausoleum of Mohammed Adil Shah, the dome of which is said to be larger than that of St. Paul's Cathedral, afford existing proofs of its former grandeur, although they are now mingled with dwellings of the meanest description, as is the case with other noble relics still existing in different parts of India.

The camp of Aurengzebe, during these wars, is described as having surpassed even that of the Emperor Akber in magnificence; and the immense wealth of the sovereign may be inferred from an anecdote related of one of his royal prisoners, Abul Hussein, the last king of Golconda. This unfortunate monarch, while yet a prisoner in the camp, ere he had been sent to finish his life in the fortress of Doulatabad, heard one day a favourite Hindū air performed by one of the imperial band, which gave him so much pleasure that he said to some one near him, he wished he had a lac of rupees to give the musician. The wish was told to the Emperor, who immediately sent the desired sum (ten thousand pounds) to Abul Hussein, requesting that he would gratify his inclination.

Bernier, who was frequently with the Emperor both on the march and in camp, gives some descriptions which are truly splendid, and which, no doubt, are correct, for the old doctor was sober-minded and fully impressed with the value of veracity. "In his marches Aurengzebe is always accompanied by a vast number of Omrahs and Rajas, who immediately follow him on horseback and in prodigious numbers. Every officer and grandee must attend unless he be prevented by sickness or by public business. Around the Omrahs and dependent princes and mixed up with them, there are always a vast number of horsemen, well mounted, and called Chobadars, because they carry heavy silver maces. There are also many of these cavaliers on the wings of a great force which precedes the person of the Emperor, and these cavaliers have

attendants who are richly attired and who march on foot. The Chobadars are chosen on account of their good looks and advantageous stature; their principal duty is to carry orders, and they are all armed with long staffs with which they keep off the multitude, and prevent any one from approaching too near or marching before the sovereign. In the rear of the Rajas is a long procession, mixed with a vast number of cymbals and trumpets, and carrying silver maces surmounted with the figures of divers strange animals, balances, human hands, fish, and other symbolical figures. After this body come the inferior Omrahs, well mounted and well equipped with swords, bows, and quivers full of arrows; and these nobles of lower grade are attended by a vast multitude of servants in rich dresses, bearing different insignia, all wrought in fine silver. At times the Emperor is carried on the shoulders of men, seated on a portable throne of great magnificence, glittering with gold and the richest of brocades. When he rides on horseback his steed is a superb animal superbly caparisoned. But he is grandest of all when he mounts his elephant, for the harness of the elephant is most rich and magnificent, and the howdah on his back is as a splendid throne most richly painted and gilded. The princesses and the great ladies of his seraglio, who generally follow him, travel with equal magnificence in palanquins, in large litters, or on the backs of elephants. . . . I cannot but say that on the march I was delighted with the pomp and glory of the seraglio, the Begums and princesses seated in rich pavilions shut in with silk curtains on the backs of gigantic elephants of Pegu and Martaban, and each lady surrounded by a host of officers and attendants all richly attired, beautifully armed and mounted to perfection on Arabian palfreys. . . . Certes, that long file of elephants, fifty, sixty, or more in number, all marching with great gravity and with measured steps, with all that immense train and pompous equipage, presents something truly grand and royal!"

The hunting parties were almost as splendid as the marches to open campaigns for the conquest of provinces or kingdoms; and every Imperial hunting party seems to have been almost as numerous as an army. Such exhibitions must be admitted as substantial proofs of wealth. But in all this oriental magnificence there was much that was thoroughly barbaric. If a man, even by accident, such as the unruliness of a horse, approached

too near to the persons of the ladies of the seraglio, who were all concealed from view by the silk curtains, he ran the chance of beng put to death on the spot, or of having his bones broken by the mace-bearers. The curious spectators were often ridden over and trampled to death by the huge elephants; and the villages and the smaller towns which lay on the line of march were too often pillaged by the countless retainers of the gorgeous court. In the camp too there was often a most unmilitary disorder, and there were such arrangements and neglect of outposts as would have exposed the army to certain defeat if suddenly attacked by a bold and active enemy counting only a tenth of its numbers. In fact the strict discipline and the military forethought of the Emperor Akber had already disappeared, and in the midst of this pomp and splendour the Mogul dynasty was tending towards a rapid decline. Few dynasties, even in Europe, have a second birth, or revival; in the East no dynasty ever has.

The two great governments that had hitherto preserved order in the south of India being thus overthrown, many of the Zemindars who had been subject to them, took advantage of their fall to declare themselves independent, and were always ready to assist the Mahrattas against the Moguls, who were now commencing that struggle for power which was continued until the downfall of the Mogul empire.

Not long after the conquest of the Deckan kingdoms, Sambajee was made prisoner by a stratagem of the Moguls, who carried him off from a summer-house, in which he was enjoying himself with a small party of friends, to the camp of the Emperor, who had him put to death in a most cruel manner. Raja Ram was then released from his long imprisonment, and declared regent during the minority of the late Raja's infant son, who was residing with his mother, Yessoo Bye, at Raighur.

Much of the open country of the Mahrattas was now in possession of the Moguls, who took some of the forts, and at length besieged the capital, where most of the great chiefs were assembled. It was defended for several months, when the fort was surrendered, and Yessoo Bye, with the young Raja, were made prisoners, and conveyed to the imperial camp, where they were received with great kindness by the Begum, or Princess Sahib, a daughter of Aurengzebe, whose amiable attentions consoled them during many years of captivity. The

Emperor himself grew very fond of the noble boy, whom he married to the daughters of the two highest chiefs in his service, one of them being Sindia, an ancestor of the late distinguished prince of that name. On the occasion of these marriages, which were celebrated with great splendour, the Emperor bestowed on the young bridegroom several large districts in jaghir, or fief, and restored to him a famous sword, called Bhowanee, which had belonged to his grandfather Sevajee, and is still preserved in the country, as a valued relic of that chief.

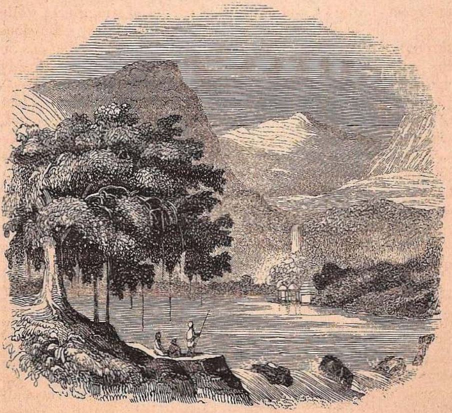
After the capture of Raighur, the Regent escaped to the Carnatic, where, in consequence of the captivity of his nephew, he was proclaimed Raja, and the war proceeded with still greater fury than before.

The Mahrattas never engaged an enemy in the open field, but were constantly on the watch for opportunities of making unexpected attacks, and cutting off parties of stragglers; while large bands, under different leaders, made predatory excursions through various parts of the country, levying contributions on the inhabitants under the name of chout, which, as already mentioned, was originally a grant from Aurengzebe, to Sevajee, of a portion of the rents of certain villages in the kingdom of Bijapur, but was now levied by every Mahratta chief, wherever it was possible to enforce it. The habits of the soldiers, and their mode of warfare, remind us of those of the Scottish Highlanders in former times. They never encumbered themselves with baggage, nor did they use tents, but each man carried with him a coarse blanket, a bag of millet, and an empty bag for plunder. They slept on the bare earth, with their arms and horses beside them, so that they were ready, at any instant, either to make an attack or a retreat.

The regular armies of the Moguls, superior as they were in discipline and numbers, contended to great disadvantage against enemies whose movements were so rapid, whilst their own were constantly impeded by supernumerary accompaniments. Their camp-followers, consisting of women, merchants, cooks, and servants of all kinds, frequently amounted to ten times the number of soldiers; and the habit of carrying with them all the luxuries to which they were accustomed, created a necessity for a long train of elephants, oxen, camels, and wagons, all heavily laden, especially when the Emperor's moveable palaces formed a part of their burthen.

Raja Ram died in the year 1700, leaving two sons, Sevajee and Sambajee, the mother of the elder being the celebrated Tara Bye, a very clever woman, who, for many years, exercised the authority of a sovereign princess, and carried on the war with great ability against Aurengzebe, during the rest of his life, not fixing her residence in any particular place, but moving about from fort to fort, according to circumstances.

The Emperor, although more than eighty years of age, persevered in his fruitless endeavours to crush the growing independence of the Mahratta nation. But the empire of the Moguls was fast declining, and several of the provinces were overrun by the enemy, particularly that of Guzerat, where many villages were plundered, and set on fire, and a great part of the country laid waste.



Abboo.

The province of Guzerat is separated from Marwar on the north-east, by a range of mountains, in which is Abboo, or

Abboo-gush, a mountain lake, surrounded by many ancient religious edifices, built of marble and stone: this place is held in high veneration by the Hindūs, who found a safe asylum here from the persecutions of their Mohammedan conqueror, on account of the difficulty of the mountain-passes, and the ferocity of their inhabitants. Abboo is particularly rich and fertile, and abundantly produces the vegetables of the tropical, as well as of the northern, climates. The Mohammedans destroyed the richly sculptured temples in the plain, using the materials for erecting their mosques and cities.

In the mean time, the English, whose possessions and influence on the eastern coast of India had considerably increased, had been several times engaged in direct hostilities with the Moguls, and Aurengzebe had threatened to expel them from his dominions. They were occasionally in alliance with some of the Rajas, from whom they obtained grants of territory, in return for aid against the Imperial authority; yet the Emperor was too well aware of the importance of the British trade, to make any attempt to put into execution his threat of expulsion, and even confirmed the cessions of the Rajas, on making peace with the English, who obtained a grant of the three connected villages of Chutanattee, Govindpore, and Calcutta. These new possessions being fortified, received the name of Fort William, in honour of the King of England, William the Third.

In 1693, however, another quarrel broke out. An Imperial ship, loaded with pilgrims, bound from Surat for Mecca, was attacked and taken by a small cruizer. On this, Aurengzebe ordered the English factors at all his ports to be seized, and directed a body of Abyssinian adventurers and soldiers of fortune to take possession of Bombay. The English retaliated by seizing his officers, and the Abyssinians, who were on a friendly footing with them, showed no inclination to break it off. After a time a peaceful ambassador was sent from Guzerat to Bombay. The native envoy, who himself wrote the account of his mission, was received with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power on the part of the Honourable Company. He negotiated with "elderly gentlemen in rich clothes," and although these elderly gentlemen at times offended his eastern gravity by laughing too loudly or too long, he seems to have been favourably impressed

with their character, habits, acuteness, and intelligence. The English alleged, and apparently with truth, that the pilgrim ship had been captured by pirates, for whom they were not answerable. It appears that some presents were sent to Aurengzebe, and that these, with the explanations given, satisfied and reconciled that potentate. Our countrymen had already made war upon him on both sides of India; but he did not foresee the future importance of such antagonists. Though declining, the Mogul Empire was not yet sufficiently dismembered and weak to be attacked by handfuls of Englishmen, and time had yet to give birth to the wonderful man whose genius and valour were to shake that Empire to the dust, and build up, as if by magic, the Empire of our Merchant Princes.

The death of the Emperor took place in 1707. He died in his camp at Ahmednagar, at the advanced age of eighty-nine, in the fiftieth year of his reign. Aurengzebe was remarkable for the simplicity of his habits and manners, which he constantly maintained amid the splendour of the most magnificent court in the world. An European traveller who was at Delhi, about ten years before the Emperor's death, on being introduced into the imperial presence, was surprised to see a little old man, with a long silvery beard, dressed in plain white muslin, standing in the midst of a group of Omrahs, whose rich robes, sparkling with jewels, formed a striking contrast to the unostentatious appearance of their sovereign.

At the approach of death, he felt the anguish and the horror of remorse for his unnatural conduct towards his predecessor and father, Shah Jehan, and as he was thoroughly a Mussulman, and believed in the eternity of penal fires, his soul was agitated with terror as well as with remorse. He wrote to his sons—"I have committed numerous crimes! the agonies of death come fast upon me. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, has been for you. Come what come may, my vessel is launched on the waves. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"

By his Mohammedan intolerance he had greatly irritated the usually quiet and indifferent Hindūs, and by thus doing, he had increased the elements of power that were dropping into the hands of the active and enterprising Mahrattas. Under him the Hindūs were excluded from office; they were degraded by a special tax; their fairs and religious festivals

were forbidden; their temples were sometimes insulted and even destroyed. He cordially detested this people, and long before the close of his reign, the Hindūs as cordially detested him. Like the great Akber, he was an author, and a voluminous writer of letters. Of the letters some hundreds have been preserved, and from them may be gleaned various particulars of his character. With all his bigotry he was not superstitious. He laid out no money on mosques or endowments, and showed no sign of being under the influence of the professors and teachers of his religion, while he often expressed his contempt for the assumed sanctity of Faquirs and Dervishes. His letters almost invariably include some poetical quotation, or some verse from the Koran. They are sometimes familiar, and even jocose, especially those addressed to his sons. One, written after he was eighty years old, ends with some burlesque verses, each of which gives a ludicrous description of the occupations of one of the principal men about his own court. Judging from his correspondence Mr. Elphinstone says, "His government is a system of continual mistrust: every man's character is secretly investigated, and colleagues are so selected, that each may be a check on his neighbour; yet there never was a prince so much cheated or so ill served. The coldness of his heart is conspicuous in the manner in which he received the accounts of the death of his oldest and most intimate friends. In so long a life, such events often occur, and they always draw forth some pious or philosophical reflection, followed up by strict orders to seize on the property of the deceased friend, to see that none is embezzled, to hunt out all deposits, and to be careful in recovering all outstanding debts."*

It appears that Aurengzebe never felt a frank and generous sentiment, or inspired that feeling in the breast of another. At his court all was hollow, selfish, corrupt; there existed the strangest alliance between pride and servility, meanness and ostentation. If ever human nature has been thoroughly degraded, it is in the usages and the character of a Mogul courtier: in him all sentiment of honour and virtue is extinct; he is but a sort of automaton set in motion by the gesture or the look of a despot, as vicious and as degraded as himself.†

* Hist. Ind.

† M. Collin de Bar. "Histoire de l'Inde, Ancienne et Moderne." Paris, 1814.

We have traced the progress of this Mogul domination up to its most brilliant prosperity. We shall now see it degenerate with wonderful rapidity, and then suddenly fall into a sort of political nullity, not only through those great revolutions of which India has so frequently been the theatre, but still more through moral causes fatal to kingdoms and empires.

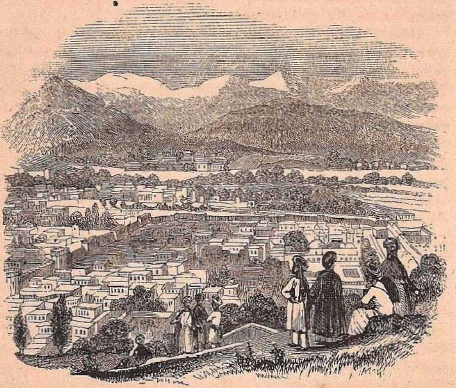
Yet of all the kings of India, Aurengzebe is the most admired among the Mussulmans of the country, who invariably give him the preference over the truly great Akber.

BAHADUR SHAH.

As soon as the death of Aurengzebe became known, his eldest son, who was governor of Cabul, was proclaimed Emperor in that city, while his brother Azim was elevated to the imperial dignity in the camp, where he took the command of the army. The first act of the latter was to release the Mahratta prince Saho, hoping, by this measure, to convert the Mahrattas into friends, and obtain aid from them against his brother, who was marching from Cabul at the head of a large army, to assert his right to the throne. But the contest was speedily decided; for the two brothers met near Agra, where a battle was fought, in which Azim was slain, when his troops submitted to the conqueror, who was immediately acknowledged at Delhi, and assumed the name of Bahadur Shah.

Saho proceeded to his own country, sending letters to Tara Bye to intimate his approach, but the lady not being willing to resign her authority, affected to believe that he was an impostor, and assembled all the ministers and chief officers from whom she exacted an oath of fidelity to her son. There were many, however, who took up the cause of the true heir, and a civil war ensued, which lasted several years, for Tara Bye would not give up the contest, until she was compelled to do so by the death of her son, who was of weak intellect, and had never been able to conduct the government himself.

This event took place about five years after the return of Saho, when Tara Bye was immediately removed from the



Cabul.

elevated position she had so long occupied, and Sambajee, the younger son of Raja Ram, was placed at the head of the state, or, more properly speaking, at the head of his party. This party was eventually overthrown by that of Saho, who had been enthroned at Satara, where he had appointed ministers and assumed all the ensigns of royalty, his authority being acknowledged in several extensive districts. The chief supporter of Saho was a Bramin, named Balajee Wiswanat, the hereditary accountant of a village in the Concan, a man of great ability, both in civil and military affairs. His services in the war were rewarded by Saho with the office of Peishwa, or prime minister; and the government was left almost entirely to his management, while the Raja pursued his favourite amusements of hunting, hawking, and fishing, for which he had acquired a taste, during his residence at the Mogul court.

Thus was laid the foundation of that power afterwards

usurped by the Peishwas, who became, in time, the real sovereigns of the Mahratta empire.

About this time, another people began to figure in the history of India. These were the Siks, till then known only as a religious sect, founded at the end of the fifteenth century, by Nanik, a Hindū philosopher, whose own principles were those of a deist, but whose chief doctrine was that of universal toleration.

After the death of Akber, the Siks were persecuted by the Mohammedans, and their leader was put to death. The tyranny with which they were treated implanted among them the deepest hatred towards the Mogul government, and the Mussulmans generally, till it became a part of their religion to destroy, to the utmost of their power, that detested race. Their original country was Lahore; but they had been expelled from that province, and had now (A. D. 1675) established a sort of religious and military commonwealth among the mountains, under a chief named Har Govind, who, with a view of increasing the number of his subjects, abolished all distinctions of caste, so that all who entered the fraternity might eat together of the same food, and were freed from all the restrictions which the obligation of preserving the castes unmixed imposes on other Hindūs. The Siks, however, paid great respect to the Bramins, and worshipped the Hindū gods, and they scrupulously obeyed the superstitious enactment which forbids an Indian killing a cow, even to save a family from starving.

By the regulations of Govind, every chief was destined to be a soldier at his birth, or his admission into the order. Their distinguishing marks were a blue dress, and long hair and beard, and every man was to carry steel about him in some shape. At that period the Siks were violent fanatics, and carried on their war against their oppressors with a ferocity that has seldom been surpassed.

During the reign of Bahadur Shah and his immediate successors, the most horrible scenes were witnessed in the Punjab, where the inhabitants of whole towns fell victims to the relentless fury of these frenzied warriors, whose numbers were, however, insufficient to secure any permanent advantages, until a later period. The Siks were, until their recent subjugation by the English, the greatest independent power in

India, but their character is much changed, and retains no traces of the fanaticism that led them to commit so many crimes, and rendered the name of Sik odious as well as terrible, in the early part of the last century. Bahadur Shah reigned only five years. They have now as distinct a national character as any of the original races in India. They are tall and thin, very dark for so northern a people, active horsemen, and good matchlock men. In our late wars with them, we found them all soldiers, and Lord Hardinge, Lord Gough, and every British soldier engaged in battle with them, will agree that they proved themselves by far the most formidable and most valorous foes we ever encountered in India.

On a second incursion, in Bahadur's time, 'they ravaged the country as far as the neighbourhood of Lahore on the one side, and almost to the walls of Delhi on the other; and in the towns they captured, they massacred, with wanton barbarity, men, women, and children, and even dug up the bodies of the dead that they might become food for birds and beasts of prey. They were then led by a chief named Bandu, who had been bred a religious ascetic, and who combined a most sanguinary disposition with bold and daring counsels. The extent of these depredations made it necessary for Bahadur Shah to go against them in person. He drove them within their own limits, and then obliged them to take refuge in the hills. After many operations the sanguinary Bandu was reduced to take refuge in a fort. The place was soon surrounded but could not be stormed. A long and strict blockade was therefore established. The Siks endured the utmost extremities of hunger, and died in vast numbers, but they still continued the defence.

At last they made a desperate sally, and cut their way through the Mogul army, losing, however, many of their warriors. The Mussulmans took possession of the fort, and seized a man who seemed to be Bandu, and who had used every possible means of making himself conspicuous. Wheu they carried this man into camp, it was found that he was a Hindū convert to the mixed doctrines of the Siks, who had sacrificed himself to save his leader, and that Bandu had escaped during the sally. The Emperor, though sufficiently struck by the prisoner's self-devotion to spare his life, was yet

so ungenerous as to order him to be shut up in an iron cage and sent to Delhi.

In a very short time the Siks under Bandu made fresh incursions, and their power was again on the ascendant, when Bahadur Shah, after a reign of only five years, fell sick and died. His death was followed by a dispute among his sons, who all aspired to the vacant throne, which fell to the lot of the eldest, Jehandar Shah, two of his brothers having been slain in the contest.

The reign of Jehandar was brief, for scarcely was he seated on the throne, when his nephew, Farokhsir, the son of one of the princes who had lost their lives in the preceding quarrel, raised an army at Allahabad, and proceeded to Agra, where a battle was fought, in which the Emperor was defeated; and being afterwards betrayed into the hands of the victor, was put to death by his command.

History scarcely offers so many examples of the fatal effects of the thirst for dominion, as are presented by the successors of Aurengzebe on the throne of India. The country was rent and deplorably weakened by a long series of civil wars, in which the conquerors showed no mercy to the vanquished. Many Hindū Rajas again raised the standard of independence, and these chiefs unhappily waged war with one another on their own account. Many parts of the country became depopulated, and the tigers of the jungles again appeared in the fields and took possession of the villages, where, to use a Hindū expression, all the domestic hearths were cold and every lamp extinguished. The Siks, as cruel as the tigers, made fresh irruptions and still farther unpeopled the country. Horrible state crimes were committed to secure the tranquillity of successions to the throne which were destined never again to be either tranquil or permanent. Some princes and chiefs were tortured to death; others were shut up in iron cages after having their eyes torn from the sockets. Treachery as well as cruelty stalked through the land: friend betrayed friend, the son his own father, and women entered into plots and conspiracies. Already the Hindūs began to feel that the Mogul dynasty was expiring and that, for the vast majority of the population of India, any government would be better than this.

One of Jehandar Shah's first acts had been to put to death all the princes of the blood within his reach.

FAROKHSIR.

THE new Emperor, a weak indolent prince, owed his elevation in a great measure to the exertions of two brothers, Houssein Ali, and Abdullah Khan, the former of whom was made commander-in-chief and governor of the Deckan, while the latter ruled the court in the capacity of Vizier. It was soon obvious that these two ambitious men had only placed the young prince on the throne for the purpose of getting all the authority into their own hands; and the factions that in consequence divided the state tended to hasten its downfall.

The Mahratta rulers were watchful to avail themselves of every circumstance that afforded an opportunity of advancing the interests of their nation at the expense of the declining empire; and although the Raja Saho had acknowledged himself a vassal of the throne of Delhi, his people did not refrain from invading the Mogul territories, and some of their chiefs seized on several villages within the Emperor's dominions, which they converted into forts, where they maintained bands of freebooters, who issued forth from these strongholds to plunder the surrounding country. They waylaid travellers, robbed the caravans, and committed so many depredations that the high roads to Surat, both from Hindūstan and the Deckan, were rendered impassable for all peaceable subjects.

At length, Houssein Ali, who had vainly attempted to clear the road from the south by force, opened a negotiation with the Peishwa Balajee, who demanded as the price of peace, that the Mogul government should confirm Saho in all the former possessions of his grandfather Sevajee; and that he should have the right of levying the chout over the whole of the Deckan: that is, of taking one-fourth of the revenue; besides which he demanded a farther contribution of one-tenth of the remaining three parts for hay and corn money; with some other concessions, in return for which the Raja was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees to the Emperor, and to furnish him with fifteen thousand horse soldiers. He was also

to be responsible for the conduct of his people, and to indemnify the subjects of the Emperor for all losses that might be sustained by any violation of the peace by the Mahratta chiefs. The Emperor, however, refused to sign this treaty, in consequence of which Houssein Ali joined the Mahrattas; and the combined armies proceeded to Delhi, to enforce their demands. The vizier, who favoured the views of his brother, had his partizans in the city, where a violent tumult ensued, and Farokhsir being seized by the two Seiads, was imprisoned and put to death, having occupied the throne only six years.

Before this final catastrophe the Emperor had been several times made a close prisoner in his own palace at Delhi; and thus was established the precedent for that state of things which will come to be noticed hereafter, where the Great Mogul is a captive, and the government of all that remains of the empire is carried on in his name, by his personal enemies, gaolers, and cruel oppressors. In fact the Delhi palace became a mere state prison, the keys of which were held by the Mahrattas.

The short reign of this prince is remarkable for the cruel policy adopted with regard to the Siks, whose ferocious chief, Bandu, being made prisoner, was conveyed to Delhi with seven hundred and forty of his followers, who were all beheaded; while their wretched leader was tortured to death. After this fearful tragedy the unfortunate Siks were hunted down like wild beasts by the Mogul troops, until they were supposed to be totally annihilated; nor did they appear again in any numbers for a very long period.

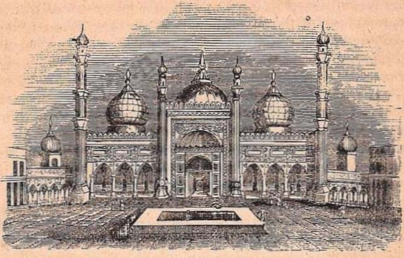
These fanatics, however weak their numbers, always fought most desperately, and would never purchase life by renouncing the faith they had embraced. If their power was broken for the present, that of the Mahrattas rose in still greater proportion. Saho made Farokhsir submit to allow the levy of the chout, or fourth, over the whole of the Deckan, and to surrender other revenues and extensive territories into his hands. In every encounter which took place between them during this inglorious reign the Mahrattas appear to have beaten the Moguls. The Mahratta drum was heard in nearly every part of the empire, and wherever it was beaten, ravage and plunder ensued.

During the reign of Farokhsir (in the year 1715), the Eng-

lish obtained new privileges and additional grants of territory, in consequence of the medical skill of an Englishman, named Hamilton, who was one of a commercial mission sent from Madras to the court of Delhi, at a time when the Emperor happened to be very ill. This gentleman speedily restored him to health, for which service three villages were granted to the English in the neighbourhood of Madras, with the liberty of purchasing in Bengal thirty-seven townships, and of conveying their goods through the province free of duty. The Nabob, however, being opposed to any extension of their influence, contrived to deter the owners from selling the townships; so that no advantage was for some time reaped from the Emperor's permission on that head; but they availed themselves of his leave to carry on a free trade in Bengal, by which Calcutta soon became a place of considerable importance.

About seven years after the death of Farokhsir, the Company was allowed to establish a court of justice, consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, at each of the three presidencies, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

The increase of the English power excited the jealousy of Dutch, French, Danes, and Portuguese, all of whom were competitors in India. It also gave rise to alarm in the breasts of many of the Mohammedans; but the Great Mogul's court had got into the habit of saying that the English were only a set of tradesmen who cared for nothing but their trade, and that whenever they became too impertinent or too troublesome, it would be an easy matter to burn their factories and drive them into the sea or back to their shipping. The belief was also cherished that, away from the sea and their ships, the English were a people in no respect to be feared.



Grand Mosque at Delhi.

MOHAMMED SHAH.

AFTER the murder of Farokhsir, two princes of little note were successively raised to the imperial throne; both of whom died within a few months; when Mohammed Shah, the son of Jehandur, was proclaimed Emperor, in 1719. The absolute authority assumed by Houssein Ali and Abdullah Khan, which rendered the Emperor an object of mere pageantry, excited great dissatisfaction; and a conspiracy was very soon formed against Houssein, who was assassinated in the street by a person who stopped his palaquin, on pretence of having a petition to present to him. Abdullah, on hearing of this event, collected all his forces and hastened towards Delhi, with the intent of deposing Mohammed Shah; but he was met by the imperial forces, who defeated and made him prisoner, and he shortly afterwards died of the wounds he had received in the battle. The Emperor, thus relieved from the control of the two brothers, was declared sole master of the empire, and entered his capital in splendid procession.

The people were greatly rejoiced at this revolution, and for several days the city of Delhi presented one continued scene of festivity. Letters of submission and professions of loyalty

greeted the new sovereign from all quarters. The Raja Saho despatched an envoy to the court to perform homage before him; and the heads of the European factories sent embassies with congratulations and wishes for his long and happy reign. His reign was indeed long, but it was very far from being happy; for the unfortunate monarch was doomed to witness the ruin of the empire, and the sad fate of its magnificent capital, an event that gives a mournful celebrity to his name, and marks his reign as the most calamitous era of the Mogul dynasty.

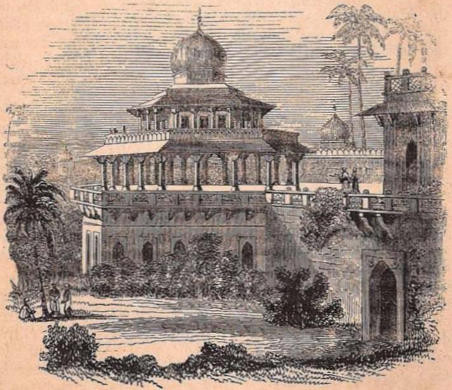
One of the first acts of Mohammed Shah was to ratify the treaty with the Mahrattas; and not long afterwards, the Peishwa Balajee died, bequeathing his power, wealth, and dignities, to his son Bajee Rao, the greatest of all the Bramin rulers. The new minister, who governed absolutely without any interference on the part of the Raja, sought out men of talent to fill all the high offices, without regard to the obscurity of their origin; and these became the founders of the great Mahratta families of modern times. Among these were Holkar and Sindia, names now celebrated in Anglo-Indian history, both of whom were raised from humble employments to the rank of military chiefs.

Sindia was a relative of the chief of that name, whose daughter was one of the wives given by Aurengzebe to Saho, during his captivity at Delhi. The lady, who had never been released, was dead, and the family had sunk into such abject poverty, that the individual who attracted the notice of Bajee Rao held at first a very undignified post in the great man's household, one of his duties being that of carrying his master's slippers.

The object of the Peishwa was to attach to his service a number of bold enterprising men, who might aid him in carrying into effect his design of extending the Mahratta power and territory in Hindūstan. Aware of the weakness of the Mogul government, he seems even to have meditated its final overthrow. "Now is our time," said he, "to drive strangers from the land of the Hindūs, and to gain immortal renown. Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, and the branches must fall of themselves." By such forcible arguments he persuaded the Raja to sanction the invasion of the northern provinces, and he granted permission to Holkar, Sindia, and other chiefs, to levy the chout in Guzerat, Malwa, and other northern provinces.

About this time another rival power sprang up in the south of India, where a new independent monarchy was established by Nizam-ul Mulk, a Mohammedan officer who had been appointed to the vice-royalty of the Deckan, by Mohammed Shah, and who, throwing off his dependence on the empire, founded the sovereignty usually called the dominions of the Nizam, or Soubehdar of the Deckan, and fixed on the city of Hyderabad as his capital.

The success that attended the Mahrattas in the north at length emboldened the Peishwa to demand of Mohammed Shah the grant of a jaghir, comprising the extensive territory of Malwa, with a large portion of country south of the river Chambal, including the holy cities of Benares, Allahabad, and Mattra, places of great importance, on account of the revenue derived from the pilgrims who frequented them.



The Chalees Satoon, or the Forty Pillars, is a pavilion attached to the palace of Allahabad, and was erected by the

Emperor Akber; it is built of grey granite and freestone. The fort of Allahabad is favourably situated on the point where the rivers Ganges and Jumna unite. The numerous vessels to be seen on these rivers, particularly on the former, give great animation to the scene. The buildings in general here are in the Mohammedan style. Allahabad is five hundred miles westward of Calcutta, and eighty-three from Benares.

Mohammed Shah refused to make the grant demanded by the Peishwa, on which Bajee Rao appeared before the gates of the capital, at the head of a numerous force, with a view of intimidating the Emperor; but retired, without proceeding to any act of greater hostility than the plunder of the suburbs. For some time, however, he continued to carry on a very harassing warfare in the Mogul territories, until the Emperor was forced into compliance with his exorbitant demands.

It was at the very time when this concession was made to the Mahrattas, that the Mogul empire was invaded, and its capital taken by the great Persian sovereign, Nadir Shah, at this period the most warlike of all the eastern princes. He was a usurper (originally only a leader of banditti), who, having raised himself to the throne of Persia in 1736, went to war with the Afghans for the recovery of Candahar. This city had formerly belonged to Persia, but was then in possession of the Ghilzies, the most powerful of the Afghan tribes who inhabited the country around Candahar, which they had formed into an independent state in the year 1708, when they revolted from the Persian government. The occupation of the Ghilzie country, which he reduced to subjection, brought Nadir Shah to the frontiers of the Mogul empire; yet it was not until after he had taken Cabul, and was actually advancing towards Delhi, that the Emperor and the people of that devoted city aroused themselves to a sense of danger. Mohammed Shah then hastily assembled his forces and met the invader about one hundred miles from Delhi, where he sustained a total defeat, and was obliged to repair in person to the Persian camp to make submission to the conqueror; a sad humiliation for a successor of the great Akber.

The two monarchs rode side by side to the capital, where Nadir, assuming the right of conquest, distributed his troops in various parts of the city, to the infinite disgust of the inha-

bitants, who bore the intrusion and exactions of the enemy with gloomy discontent, until a report was raised that Nadir Shah had died suddenly, when the suppressed fury of the populace burst forth, and great numbers of the Persians were put to the sword. In the midst of the tumult Nadir rode forth from the palace gates, expecting that his presence would overawe the people and put a stop to their violence; instead of which, their disappointment at seeing him alive only added to their rage; and the Persian Shah then gave the fearful command, which devoted to ruin that magnificent city which had so long been the pride of the eastern world.

When the order had been issued for a general massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants of Delhi, Nadir Shah retired to a little mosque in the grand bazaar, where he sat for hours in solitude, while the work of death and destruction was going on around him. Many parts of the city were in flames, and the number of human beings sacrificed on that dreadful day is said to have amounted to fifty thousand. At length the wretched Emperor forced his way into the presence of the destroyer, exclaiming with tears streaming down his cheeks, "Spare my people;" and the command that was instantly given to shed no more blood, was as promptly obeyed as that which had caused it to flow in such frightful abundance.

Having thus so far depopulated the great capital of the Mogul empire, and laid it partly in ruins, the Shah proceeded to take possession of all its moveable treasures. Gold and jewels, rich stuffs of every description, elephants, horses, camels, and the celebrated peacock throne of Shah Jehan, were carried off by the conquerors. Many persons suspected of having concealed their wealth, were put to the torture to make them confess where it was hidden. Then Nadir Shah reinstated the humbled monarch on his throne, and wrote to the chief princes of India to announce his restoration. One of these letters was addressed to the great Mahratta Raja Saho, and another to the Peishwa Bajee Rao, desiring that they would obey all the commands of Mohammed Shah, whom he now regarded as his brother, and telling them that, therefore, he should return with his army to punish any disobedient vassals. Rajee Rao immediately sent a large present in gold to the Emperor with a letter of submission, which were acknowledged by a splendid present in return, consisting of a com-

plete dress, a pearl necklace, jewels for his turban, a horse, and an elephant.

The atrocities at Delhi were committed in the year 1739, in the month of March. The Persian freebooter had not invaded India with any idea of permanent occupation: Nadir's sole object was to enrich himself by plunder. He marched away from Delhi, after a residence of only fifty-eight days, carrying with him a treasure in money, amounting, by the lowest computation, to eight or nine millions sterling, besides many millions in gold and silver plate, furniture, jewels, horses, camels, elephants, &c.

Not long after the invasion by the Persians, Bajee Rao died, and was succeeded in his high office by his son Balajee Rao, under whose able government the power of the Mahratta nation continued to increase, and the authority of the Peishwa entirely superseded that of the Raja.

Just at the time of Bajee Rao's death, which happened in 1740, some affairs of great importance, in regard to the progress of the British empire in India, were taking place in the extensive territory of the Carnatic, one of the subordinate principalities of the Deckan, subject to the Soubehdar Nizam-ul Mulk, who was nominally a vassal of the Emperor, but in reality an independent prince, and, as already stated, the great rival of the Mahratta sovereign, with whom he was obliged to share the revenues of the greater part of the Deckan. The Carnatic war was ostensibly undertaken to support the rights of certain Indian princes; but might, with more truth, be called a struggle between the English and French for supremacy in India, where it was now evident the Mogul dominion was drawing to a close.

The first European settlers in India were the Portuguese: these were followed by the Dutch, and the Dutch at a short interval by English. The French were the last to take the field. A feeble attempt to open a trade with India was made by a few private merchants of Rouen in the time of Francis I., but it appears that the ships despatched could never get round the Cape of Good Hope. Another feeble attempt was made under Henry IV. about the year 1600, to set up a French East India Company and to partake in the wealth which was then acquired by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English. Two small French expeditions were despatched to the East:

one of these reached the Maldive group, the other the vast island of Java; but the enterprises did not answer commercially, and the infant company was broken up. Another weak and unsuccessful effort was made in the year 1633 by some merchants of Dieppe. After this failure the French, very unfortunately for themselves, fixed their attention on the great African Island of Madagascar, and for the time, gave up all thoughts of trade with India. A few years later Cardinal Richelieu undertook to construct (that which could be properly constructed only by three associating merchants and capitalists) a new East India Company. A company was actually formed, and many privileges were accorded to it; but the French shifted and changed plans, and this company also fell to the ground. In the time of Louis XIV., under the able and very commercial administration of M. Colbert, another association was formed, and to it was granted the privilege of an exclusive trade with India for fifty years. This new company started with a capital of 15,000,000 of livres, which apparently was not got together by shares, but provided by the King's government. After making a very unfortunate and useless expedition to Madagascar, the new French company wisely gave up all thoughts of that fatal island, and really undertook the Indian trade.

A Persian, called Maskara, attached to the French service, obtained for the company permission to establish factories at different points of the vast Peninsula. In the year 1668 a merchant of French origin, named Caron, who had grown grey in the service of the Dutch East India Company, became the chief of this French company, created by M. Colbert, and chose Surat as the centre of all French affairs in India. But Surat did not answer the expectations which had been entertained of it, and Caron looked about for a better commercial situation. He tried a settlement on the island of Ceylon, but was driven thence by famine and disease. With a force greatly weakened, he then repaired to the Coromandel coast, and driven on by despair, he attacked the Portuguese colony of St. Thomas, which had recently been subjected by the King of Golconda. Although the fortifications were rather strong, the French took the place by assault, and established themselves at St. Thomas in 1672. Two years after this capture, the Dutch, at war with Louis XIV., allied themselves with

some of the Rajas, invested the place and forced the French to surrender. But for the prudence, skill, and spirit of a single man, there was an end to Colbert's India Company. François Martin, an inferior agent, conceived the happy thought of founding an establishment at Pondicherry, a place most advantageously situated on the coast of Coromandel. The concession of a small territory was obtained from the native prince, and here Martin and the surviving French, built a town and fortified it. Their trade was beginning to take root and flourish; but the Dutch very soon invested the place, and in 1693 Martin was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The Dutch acquired more ground, built many new houses, and greatly strengthened the fortifications. But in 1697 the treaty of Riswick restored Pondicherry to the French, and François Martin resumed his post as governor of the colony. Under his able guidance the regular plan of a large city was traced, the works were still further strengthened, and a garrison was formed of eight hundred men, partly French, partly Indian. The gentleness and prudence of Martin's administration soon attracted a considerable population to the spot, and Pondicherry became one of the most important and thriving places the Europeans possessed in India. Unaided by European skill, discipline, and valour, no native power or combination of Indian powers could ever have expelled the French from Pondicherry. The strong bastions and ramparts were furnished with a formidable artillery, from its situation the place could not be bombarded from the sea, and before we made any such attempt the French enlisted native soldiers and disciplined them as regular sepoys. Hence, when we undertook the siege of the place, we failed completely, and more than once.

From his strong centre at Pondicherry, Martin extended his influence over various parts of the great peninsula, and the French had colonies or factories at Ballasor, Cosimbazaar, Masulipatam, and other places. At this period the French power overshadowed ours, as also the power of the Dutch. That of the Portuguese, long declining, was now reduced to a mere shadow.

Like the English, and all other European settlers, the French soon found themselves drawn into native alliances and converted from merchants into soldiers. The empire of the

Moguls was, as we have seen, broken up into fragments, and the Hindū and other princes who were asserting their independence of the Emperor were almost incessantly engaging in hostilities with one another. Then, there were among these Rajas disputed successions, which were always to be decided by the sword. Knowing that even a hundred of brave Europeans could always decide the greatest of battles and gain the victory for the party they espoused, these rivals and competitors were constantly applying for aid to the French or to the English. Both these nations were guided by what they considered their own interest, but as a general rule, if the French leagued themselves with one prince or Raja, the English were sure to be found in the opposite ranks. In the course of a very few years the question to be resolved came to be simply this—shall the French or the English have the empire of India? On either side there were men of eminent ability as statesmen and administrators, and men of high military genius and romantic courage: if we had our Clive, Warren Hastings, and Eyre Coote, the French had their Dupleix, La Bourdonnaye, and Bussy. It would be foreign to the purpose of the present work to enter into the political history of the Europeans in India, which has been quite recently related in several compendious, well known, and very popular works. Our main object is to sketch the native history, and to convey an idea of the manners of the people, of the country and its productions.

The circumstances which led to the war were these. The Raja of Trichinopoly, one of the numerous tributary states of the Deckan, died in 1736, leaving one son, an infant, whose mother, according to Hindū usage, assumed the government as regent. It frequently happened, however, on the death of a Raja, that many of his male relatives would come forward as claimants for the throne, and endeavour to set aside his sons by force, as was the case in the present instance, when the widow had to maintain the rights of her child against a rival, whose superior force gave him every chance of success; therefore the princess gratefully accepted an offer of assistance from Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of the Nabob of Arcot, which was the capital of the Carnatic. Not doubting his sincerity, she allowed him free access to the citadel, which he treacherously seized, and confined the princess in a prison, where she soon died.

It was by these dishonourable means that Chanda Sahib became Raja of Trichinopoly, a place of great strength and importance; and he was supported in his usurpation by the French; but the neighbouring Hindū Rajas, not liking to see a Mohammedan in possession of a throne that had always been occupied by a Hindū, applied to the Mahrattas to assist them in displacing him. A Mahratta army accordingly appeared on the frontiers of the Carnatic, a few weeks after the death of Bajee Rao, and invested the city and fort of Trichinopoly, where the usurper defended himself for several months. At length, however, being compelled to surrender, he was sent captive to Satara, the capital of Raja Saho, where he was detained a prisoner at large for several years. During his captivity Chanda Sahib kept up a correspondence with the French governor of Trichinopoly, who paid a part of the ransom for which he was liberated in 1748, the same year that witnessed the succession of another prince of the race of Akber to the imperial throne of the Moguls.

But before entering upon the wars in the Carnatic, it will be necessary to relate some other events that took place before the death of the Emperor Mohammed Shah. A tribe of Afghans called the Rohillas, from the name of their chief, had lately founded a new state in the Doab, or tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, the confines of which approached within a hundred miles of the capital. This principality had attained to considerable importance at the time of the Emperor's decease, and its affairs were afterwards intimately connected with the general history of the country; but an event of still greater consequence was, the establishment of the kingdom of the Afghans, now sufficiently famous under the name of Afghanistan. The founder of this state was Ahmed Shah Abdalla, the son of an Afghan chief, whose tribe had been for some time settled in Herat, when that province was invaded and conquered by Nadir Shah. Ahmed having surrendered himself, was received into the service of the Shah, to whom he remained faithful until the death of that formidable prince, who was assassinated in the year 1747, when Ahmed Abdalla left the Persian army, in which he had obtained a high rank, and returned with a great number of his tribe to Herat, where he was soon proclaimed king of the whole Afghan nation.

The confusion that followed the assassination of Nadir

Shah afforded the new sovereign an opportunity of extending his dominion; and with that view, he invaded the provinces of Lahore and Moultan, where very little opposition was made to his arms, and he soon found himself monarch of a vast territory beyond the Indus, including Cashmere, Cabul, Candahar, Balk, and Scinde. Ahmed changed his name from Abdalla to Durani, by which appellation his tribe was from that time distinguished. Encouraged by his rapid successes, the conqueror raised his eyes to the throne of the Moguls, and boldly advanced towards Delhi; but his march was stopped by the imperial army, headed by Prince Ahmed, eldest son of the Emperor, who obtained a complete victory over his Afghan namesake, which checked the ambitious views of the latter, who was obliged to retreat to Cabul. The victor then returned triumphantly to the capital, where he was greeted as Emperor, Mohammed Shah having just breathed his last. This event happened in the month of April, 1748, and was shortly followed by the deaths of the other two most potent sovereigns of India, Nizam-ul Mulk, Soubehdar of the Deckan, and Saho, the great Mahratta chief.

AHMED SHAH.

Ahmed Shah succeeded to the throne of his ancestors, and the title of Emperor; but the former was divested of its previous splendour, while the latter was a mere nominal dignity, to which but little glory or authority was now attached. The Mogul power had ceased to be paramount in India, where several nations were contending for that supremacy which was eventually obtained by Great Britain. The English, like the French, had long been bent on acquiring sovereignty as well as lands, in India; and their interference in the quarrels of the native princes had always that object in view.

On the death of Nizam-ul Mulk, who had reached the extraordinary age of one hundred and four years, the government of the Deckan was assumed by second his son, Nazir

Jung, whose eldest brother Ghazee-ud-din, held a high post at the court of Delhi. The deceased sovereign, however, had left a numerous family; and one of his grandsons, Mirzafa, chose to dispute the title of Nazir Jung to the throne of the Deckan, on pretence that Nizam-ul Mulk had disinherited him for rebellion, and had expressed a wish that he, Mirzafa, should be his successor. The pretender was joined by Chanda Sahib, who had returned, as already stated, from his imprisonment among the Mahrattas, and had been for some months collecting troops for the purpose of making an attempt to obtain the sovereignty of the Carnatic, as his father-in-law, the late Nabob, had died during his captivity, and the government had been bestowed by Nizam-ul Mulk on an individual of a different family, whose right to keep possession Chanda Sahib considered himself entitled to dispute. Mirzafa and Chanda Sahib being thus engaged in similar enterprises, agreed to assist each other; and the French became their able and willing allies, in the expectation of increasing their own power and possessions, should they succeed in making these two princes rulers of the Deckan; in which case, their superiority over the English, who supported the opposite parties, would be fully established.

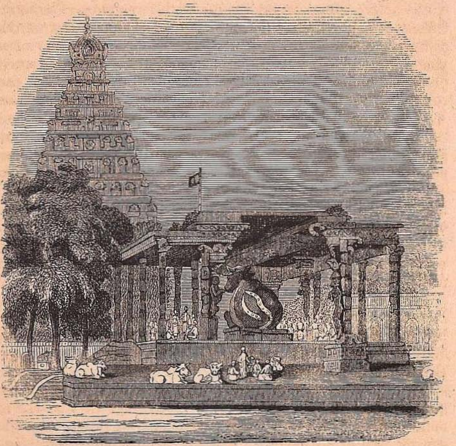
The sovereign of the Carnatic, or, as he was more usually styled, Nabob of Arcot, was killed in an engagement with the allies at Amboor, on which the victors marched to Arcot, which was surrendered without opposition, and Chanda Sahib assumed the sovereignty. Arcot is a very ancient town, about sixty-eight miles to the west of Madras, and, at the period alluded to, contained a fine palace and citadel, of great extent, which are now in ruins.

When Chanda Sahib took possession of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, the son of the late Nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a city of great importance on account of its strong fortifications, as well as its extent, the walls being six miles in circumference. The French were desirous of besieging this place without delay, but the princes chose to indulge their vanity, by making a grand display at Arcot; after which, they proceeded in state to Pondicherry, the principal French settlement, where the new Nabob made a formal grant to the French, in return for their services, of eighty-one villages in the vicinity of that town.

The next object was to assist Mirzafa in deposing his uncle, Nazir Jung, but Chanda Sahib wanted money, which he determined to extort from the Raja of Tanjore, one of the tributary princes of the Deckan, who had for some time neglected to pay his tribute, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country. Tanjore, which had constituted a part of the dominions of the Mahratta chief, Shahjee, and descended in the family of his eldest son, had never been entirely subdued by the Mohammedans; and there the old Hindū institutions and edifices were preserved in greater purity, perhaps, than in any other part of India. Every village had its temple, with the lofty gateway of massive architecture prevalent in ancient Hindū structures, where large establishments of Bramins, musicians, and dancing girls were maintained; and on all the high roads, as well as in the villages, were choultries, or houses for the refreshment of travellers. This district was noted for the frequency of the Suttee.* The capital of Tanjore is a large fortified city of the same name, consisting of two distinct parts, one of which contains the palace, an old building, with several high towers; the other, a celebrated temple of singular construction, esteemed one of the finest specimens of architecture in India. It contains a gigantic figure of a bull, in black granite, sixteen feet long, and above twelve high, supposed to be of great antiquity.

The Raja of Tanjore not being prepared for the invasion of Chanda Sahib, was obliged to make a compromise, agreeing to pay a sum equivalent to nine hundred thousand pounds; but he had no intention of fulfilling his engagement, if he could by any means evade it, therefore he endeavoured to gain time by sending instalments of plate and jewels, on the plea that he could not immediately raise the money, hoping that, if he could contrive to delay matters long enough, assistance might arrive: nor was he mistaken; for Nazir Jung, who was perfectly aware of the design against him, had applied both to the English and the Mahrattas for aid, and entered the Carnatic with an army strengthened by those two powerful allies. Fortune now turned again. A battle was won by Nazir Jung, which obliged Chanda Sahib to seek an asylum at Pondicherry, while Mirzafa was taken prisoner, and placed in strict confinement. Soon after this victory, however, Nazir

* Widow-burning.



Temple of Tanjore.

Jung lost his life in a rebellion of his own people, instigated by the French, who liberated Mirzafa, and placed him on the throne of the Deckan, at the end of the year 1750.

The revolution thus effected in the government of southern India, for a time gave the French great advantages over the English in that country. A large accession of territory was granted them; and although Mirzafa soon lost his life in an insurrection, they maintained their influence by raising to the vacant dignity his youngest brother, Salabat Jung.

In the meantime, Mohammed Ali, whose cause was supported by the English against Chanda Sahib, had by their aid retained possession of Trichinopoly; and so long as he held that fortress, the Nabob could not feel himself entire master of the Carnatic. It was also of the utmost importance to the English

that they should keep a position of such strength; therefore, it was at this time the chief scene of the war in the Carnatic. Chanda Sahib laid close siege to the city, which must in the end have fallen, had it not been saved by the gallantry of a young British officer, Captain Clive, whose enterprising spirit prompted him to plan and execute a daring scheme for the relief of Trichinopoly. This was to make a direct attack on Arcot, the Nabob's capital, with a view of diverting his attention, and drawing his troops from the besieged city; and at his own earnest request the Presidency of Madras gave him permission to undertake the expedition, with five hundred men, of whom three hundred were Sepoys; and with this little army, Captain Clive set forth towards Arcot. The attack was so sudden and unexpected, that the garrison fled in dismay, without making the slightest effort to defend the fortress, which was immediately occupied by the assailants, who were thus in possession of the city.

This exploit entirely changed the tide of affairs in the Deckan. Chanda Sahib, as was expected, sent the greater part of his forces from Trichinopoly, under the command of his son, who entering Arcot, besieged the fortress, which the British commander defended, for seven weeks, with his few men, against a host of foes. At length, finding that the numbers of the enemy were daily increasing, he resolved to make a bold effort to disperse them, and went out with the greater part of his garrison, when an engagement took place in the streets; and although he was obliged to retire again to the fort, the loss of the enemy had been so great, that they quitted the town in the night, and being pursued by the British commander, who was reinforced by a body of Mahrattas, and a fresh detachment of troops from Madras, they were totally routed; and thus the adventurous expedition of Captain Clive was crowned with complete success.

The adherents of Chanda Sahib now began to desert him in such vast numbers, that he was at length driven by despair to accept an offer of protection from the Raja of Tanjore; but when he arrived at the court of that treacherous prince, instead of finding the asylum he expected, he was loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon, where he was soon put to death.

This event made the English masters of the Carnatic. Mo-

hammed Ali was declared Nabob, and Captain Clive was rewarded for his services by a higher rank in the army. The French, however, still carried on the war, on pretence that the Soubehdar of the Deckan had granted to them the sovereignty of the Carnatic, which was one of his dependencies; but the English contended that the Soubehdar, being himself an usurper, whose title to the throne had never been recognized by the Emperor, had no right to dispose of the principality in question, which belonged to their ally, Mohammed Ali. The French again laid siege to Trichinopoly, which was so ill supplied with provisions, that the inhabitants, in number about two hundred thousand, were obliged to leave the city, carrying away with them such property as they could conveniently move, and most probably burying a great quantity of treasure in the earth, which was a common practice among the natives of India in time of war. The siege of the deserted city, which was defended by only about two thousand men, composing the garrison, lasted more than a year, during which the Emperor, Ahmed Shah, was deposed, and his place supplied by a prince, who afterwards became a pensioner of the British government. Thus, while the French and English were quarrelling for the future empire of the Deckan, other parts of Hindūstan were also the scenes of many important events, which have now to be related.

The settlement of the Rohillas in the Doab, and the establishment of the kingdom of Afghanistan, immediately before the accession of Ahmed Shah, have already been noticed. The new Emperor, or rather his vizier, Safder Jang, was very soon engaged in wars with the Rohillas, who proved such formidable foes, that he was induced to solicit aid from the Mahrattas, which was granted by the Peishwa, Balajee Rao, on condition that his troops should be paid for their services, by being authorized to levy contributions in the Rohilla country, which in consequence of this permission was so completely ravaged, that, for many years afterwards, the melancholy traces of this ruinous warfare were visible through its whole extent. The Rohillas, at length, agreed to give up the country, except a few villages for the maintenance of their chiefs; and, for awhile, peace was restored.

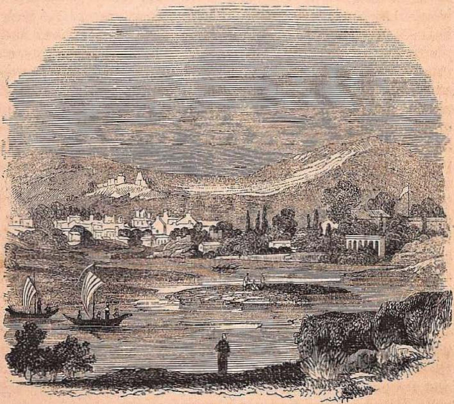
In the meantime, Ahmed of Durani, the king of the Afghans, had invaded the Punjab, and obtained the cession of

that province from the Emperor, who was glad to keep his capital free from invasion, on any terms. Safder Jang, however, on his return from the Rohilla war, was very much displeased that any treaty had been concluded without his knowledge; and the dissensions that arose in consequence were carried to such a height, that the city of Delhi became a scene of warfare between the two factions that divided the court; for the Emperor had grown weary of submitting to the control of his overbearing vizier, who was in the end deposed by the leader of the opposite party, Ghazee-ud-din, a grandson of Nizam-ul Mulk, whose father, a powerful omrah of the same name, had died on an expedition undertaken for the purpose of expelling the usurper, Salabat Jung, from the throne of the Deckan.

The Emperor had little cause to rejoice in the triumph of Ghazee-ud-din, whose presumption exceeded even that of the fallen minister, and whose ambition knew no bounds. Anxious, therefore, to rid himself of one whom he saw he had every reason to fear, he resolved to make him a prisoner; but as he could not accomplish this object without the assistance of some of the nobles, he entrusted his intentions to them; in consequence of which, Ghazee became aware of the plot, which he frustrated by seizing, and putting out the eyes of the unfortunate monarch, who was then deposed, and a great-grandson of Aurengzebe raised to the throne, by the title of Alamgir the Second.

In effecting this revolution, which took place in 1754, Ghazee-ud-din was assisted by the Mahrattas, whose history has now to be traced through the brief period of the reign of Ahmed Shah. The Raja Saho, who died shortly after the accession of that prince, having no heir to succeed him, Tara Bye, although upwards of seventy years of age, resolved, with all the spirit and ambition of earlier days, to make an effort for the recovery of her former authority. She had, therefore, just before the Raja's death, brought forward a youth, whom she declared to be her grandson, saying, that he was born soon after her son's decease, in the fort of Panalla, to which place the widow and herself had both been sent; and that to save the child from assassination, she had contrived to have him conveyed secretly to a place of safety, and brought up in obscurity. Saho believed the tale, and acknowledged the boy as his heir; but

Tara Bye was disappointed in her hopes of being proclaimed regent, as the Peishwa, Balajee Rao, was no less bent upon usurping the sovereign authority than herself, and had more power to effect his object. He proclaimed the youth as head of the Mahratta states, by the title of Raja Ram, and took the government into his own hands, granting lands to the most influential of the chiefs, in order to secure their support. Almost the whole of the fine province of Malwa, so famous for the produce of opium, and the annual revenue of which was estimated at not less than one hundred and fifty lacs of rupees, being equal to one million and a half sterling, was divided between the two great chiefs, Holkar and Sindia, the latter of whom dying about this time, was succeeded in his wealth and honours by his son.



Poonah.

The Peishwa fixed his residence at Poonah, which, from a small village, had become a large town, and might, from that time, be called the capital of the Mahratta empire. He was

at this period in alliance with the English; and when Salabat Jung was placed by the French on the throne of the Deckan, he joined in an expedition to expel that usurper, undertaken by Ghazee-ud-din, the father of him who dethroned Ahmed Shah. Before Balajee departed on this enterprise, he attained the grand object of his ambition, by inducing Raja Ram to resign all pretensions to the supreme authority, which, from that time, was openly assumed by the crafty Bramin, who assigned to the young prince a splendid maintenance, with a separate establishment at Satara.

During these wars the French lost ground by their impetuosity and disregard of the feelings and prejudices of the natives. They insulted the women and the priests, they plundered the temples and broke the idols; they paid no attention to the distinctions of caste, and forced their sepoys to do work which they could not touch without losing caste. As their finances were always unaccountably low, they robbed and plundered the country. A regiment of light cavalry was usually employed in foraging, cattle lifting, despoiling towns and other light work of that sort. On one of their lines of march stood the pagoda of Kidalore, which was held in the highest reverence by the people, and which the French believed to contain immense treasures. They burst in to this pagoda and into the houses of the Bramins, they dragged the tanks and got possession of a number of idols which had been thrown into the water for concealment; but to their bitter disappointment these figures, instead of being of solid gold, were only of brass partially gilded. They broke them to pieces, and thus incurred a horrible odium without any profit. On the following day they reached another pagoda. The terrified priests had all fled; but towards the evening a few Bramins came back to see what was befallen their temple and their habitations. The French chose to consider these poor men as spies, and they put six of them to death by blowing them off from the mouths of their field-pieces. These excesses and atrocities could not be forgotten by a people so vindictive as the Hindūs; and they never were forgiven.

Always brave and formidable enemies in the field, these French in India were not to be compared in coolness, moderation, political forethought, or civil affairs with our own countrymen. The only thing in which they surpassed us was in

pomp and magnificence. Our great conqueror Clive, the real founder of our empire, contented himself with a very plain suit of uniform and lived like an English soldier. M. Dupleix lived like an Oriental prince: he never appeared in public except in rich silk robes; he was carried in a palanquin like a Nabob, surrounded by mace-bearers with their silver maces, and followed by a numerous troop of horse, richly caparisoned and fantastically attired. He had for his wife a lady of European descent, but born in India and thoroughly imbued with Eastern tastes, manners, and habits of thought. This very ambitious dame, who spoke the native languages, and who had a truly Oriental turn for political manœuvre and intrigue, shaped out much of her husband's daring policy, corresponded with native princes and chiefs, and laboured to make allies or partisans in all directions. She kept a regular court at her mansion in Pondicherry, and was often seen blazing in diamonds and other rich jewels, and with a diadem on her brow, as if she had been a crowned sovereign. M. Bussy, who was for a long time absolute master of Golconda, lived in a style still more magnificent. These very able and, in almost every sense, very remarkable men, counted upon imposing on the natives by these pompous displays; but it may be much doubted whether they did not miscalculate as to the effect to be produced. Sinking their European distinctions, they looked like mere native Rajas or Nabobs, whose weakness, pusillanimity, and vices had discredited them in the eyes of the people. To Hindūs and Mussulmans Clive in his old-fashioned uniform was a far more imposing figure than Dupleix or Bussy could ever be in their rich Oriental costume. When the great Warren Hastings, who consolidated and vastly enlarged the Empire which Clive had founded, was Governor-General and keeping a truly splendid court at Calcutta, he wore the plain blue coat and the round hat of an English civilian: yet the natives never regarded him without respect and awe, and when he rode along the sepoy lines of our army he was always enthusiastically hailed and cheered by the men. General Sir Eyre Coote dressed and lived as Lord Clive had done before him; but to this day, no sepoy will pass his portrait without touching his cap or forehead—without giving a military salute, as if that brave leader, whose exploits have been transmitted by tradition, were yet in the flesh.

The wars of the Mahrattas were invariably pursued with the object of increasing their own wealth and territory, therefore they paid little regard to the question of right or wrong, but always took the side that seemed to offer the widest field for plunder, under the name of *chout* or tribute, of which they claimed a vast amount of arrears, in virtue of the treaty made in the reign of Farokhsir, and confirmed by Mohammed Shah, giving them liberty to levy chout over the whole of the Deckan. This imprudent agreement was an abundant source of misery to the agricultural population of the country; for whenever a village resisted the demand, the headman and principal persons were seized, and compelled by threats and torture to pay the amount claimed; so that the Mahratta plunderers always returned home laden with treasures. Nor did they confine their exactions to the tribute money, for the people were compelled to furnish them with supplies of all kinds. Every morning at day-break parties of Mahratta soldiers on small active ponies, set out in different directions from the place of encampment, and riding into the villages, helped themselves, without ceremony, to hay and corn for their horses, tore down wood from the houses for fuel, and dug up grain from the pits, where it had been hidden by the inhabitants, all which they carried back to the camp; thus living in plenty on the spoils of the villagers. Yet those amongst the Mahrattas who have not followed the profession of arms, but have been content with the simple enjoyments of the husbandman, are described as a remarkably kind, humane, and hospitable people.*

In the meantime, Tara Bye had taken advantage of the Peishwa's absence to renew her schemes for obtaining the regency. She endeavoured to persuade Raja Ram to assert his supremacy, and place her at the head of the state; but the young man, being devoid of ambition, refused to involve himself in troubles and dangers, for the sake of gratifying her love of power. His moderation, however, cost him dear; for the angry lady reproached him with his want of spirit, declared he was not her grandson, and finally made him a prisoner in the fort of Satara, where he was confined in a damp stone dungeon, and fed on the coarsest food, for nearly eight

* See Hist. Ind., by the Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone.

years, when the death of his persecutor restored him to liberty. The prison of this unfortunate young man, whose health and spirits were entirely ruined by his long confinement, is still shown in the fort of Satara. The cause of Tara Bye was espoused by many that were opposed to the government of the Peishwa; but on the return of Balajee Rao she was persuaded to give up her claim, being allowed, however, to retain the control of the young Raja, on whom she seemed resolved to revenge herself for her disappointed hopes. The Peishwa consented to this arrangement with apparent reluctance, but was, probably, not sorry to be relieved from even the shadow of a rival, without incurring the odium of injustice.

Such was the state of affairs in the Mahratta empire, when Amed Shah was deposed, and Alamgir the Second was placed on the tottering throne of the Moguls.

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE.

FAMOUS for his heroism at this period, was Ahmed of Durani, king of the Afghans, one of the greatest warriors of his time. He was active, bold, and enterprising; but would probably have confined his ambition within the limits of the kingdom he had established, had it not been for the outrageous conduct of Ghazee-ud-din, who provoked an invasion of the Mogul dominions, by attempting, partly by force and partly by stratagem, to re-annex the provinces of Lahore and Moultan to the empire. These territories had been entrusted by Ahmed to the government of a woman, the widow of the late viceroy, an Afghan noble, whose daughter had been betrothed in childhood to Ghazee-ud-din. This engagement afforded the latter a pretext for entering the country without exciting suspicion of his hostile intentions, and he was received

with joy by the mother of his affianced bride, whose pride was gratified by the prospect of being so nearly allied to the grand vizier. But the poor lady very soon discovered that she was the victim of a plot to deprive her of her rank and liberty, for she was carried off to Delhi as a prisoner, while the vizier assumed the government of the provinces.

Ahmed, enraged at this outrage, set forth at the head of a large army towards Delhi, and that unfortunate capital was again subjected to all the horrors experienced at the time of Nadir's invasion; for although the gates were opened almost unresistingly, and Ahmed was himself far from being inclined to cruelty, yet he could not prevent his troops from taking the fullest advantage of the capture of the city. From Delhi the conquerors proceeded to Mattra, which they surprised in the midst of a religious festival, when a dreadful scene of bloodshed ensued; for this being one of the holy cities, its rich temples were eagerly broken into, and plundered of all their treasures, while those who endeavoured to defend them were cut down unsparingly, by the hands of the merciless invaders.

On his return to Delhi Ahmed made peace with Alamgir, and formed an alliance with him, by marrying one of his daughters, and contracting another to his son Timur, whom he appointed governor over the whole of the Punjab, including the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, which Ghazee-ud-din had been obliged to surrender. He then gave the military command at Delhi to a Rohilla chief, in order to protect the Emperor from any violence that might be offered by his vizier; and having thus succeeded in recovering his territories, increasing his wealth, and establishing a decided superiority over the Mogul sovereign, he returned to his own capital.

It appears that the Afghans were incapable of bearing the great heat of the climate, and that a fearful mortality which broke out in his army induced Ahmed to make a rapid return to his own cool mountains. By this incursion he pretty well completed the spoliation and ruin which Nadir Shah and his Persians had commenced. After his visit Delhi could never again hope to raise her head: her beautiful and invaluable canal, her fortifications, mosques, baths, fountains, and all works, whether public or private, fell into decay through poverty and helplessness. The fine roads made by the first of the great Mo-

guls were neglected, even where they ran close to the capital. The rich had become poor, and none of the poor rich. The sacred property set apart for the maintenance of the mosques and colleges was broken into, spent and wasted—as it has been of late years in the expiring Turkish empire. After this there could be no longer security for any species of property. The rapidity of decline and the mournful symptoms of it which met the eye wherever it was turned, at Delhi or in the neighbourhood, deeply affected the English officers who first visited the city in the army of Lord Clive. Under such a regimen as now obtained in this once magnificent capital, the work of centuries may be undone in a very few years.

While these events were passing at Delhi, the English, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, destroyed the famous piratical state, that had existed for more than half a century, on the western coast of India, to the great injury of the British trade of Bombay. Its first chief, Conajee Angria, a man of low birth, had distinguished himself in the time of Sevajee, by his services against a band of pirates that infested the shores of the Mahratta country, and had been promoted by degrees, in reward for many valiant exploits, till he had become admiral of the fleet, and governor of Severndroog, a strong fortress, standing on a high precipitous rock on the coast of the Concan.

Not long after Angria had obtained the government of Severndroog, some dispute arose between him and the Mahratta chief, which led him to revolt; and as he was popular among the men he had been accustomed to command, he was soon master of the whole fleet, and about sixty leagues of the coast; which, after some negotiation, he was allowed to retain, on condition of paying a small annual tribute to the Mahratta government. Conajee Angria, and others of his family after him, carried on the trade of professed pirates, their strongholds being Severndroog, and the no less impregnable hill fort of Gheriah, situated on another insulated cliff, where these formidable chiefs reigned as absolute sovereigns over their own territories, and aspired to the sole dominion of the Indian seas. The English and Mahrattas had several times united their forces to extirpate the corsairs, but without much prospect of success, until the year 1755, when Severndroog was captured by Commodore James; and in the following year, Gheriah

was stormed and taken by Colonel Clive, who, by this important victory, put an end to a power which had so long been a check to European commerce in that part of the world. Toolajee Angria, the ruling chief, surrendered himself after the capture of Gheriah, to the Mahrattas, and passed the rest of his life in captivity. The two forts were also given up by the English to their allies, according to the terms of an agreement entered into before the war.

It was just after the fall of the pirate state, that Ghazee-ud-din made an alliance with the great Bramin chief, Ragoba, brother of the Peishwa, and commander of the forces, for the purpose of recovering his former power at the Mogul court. It was the policy of the Mahratta government to aid in any enterprise that tended to accelerate the downfall of the imperial power; therefore, the chief hastened with a numerous force, to the assistance of the vizier, who, thus powerfully supported, entered Delhi, where he soon obtained possession of the palace, and assumed unlimited control over the Emperor. Not long afterwards, he caused the unhappy and degraded monarch to be assassinated, and placed on the throne a grandson of Aurengzebe, who assumed the title of Shah Jehan; whilst Shah Alum, the son of the late Emperor, was sheltered by Shujah-ud Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, by whom he was placed at the head of a confederacy against the English, in the well-known warfare of Bengal.

The Mahratta power had, by this time, reached its greatest height. Balajee Rao remained absolute sovereign of the country, and his dominions, exclusive of numerous tributary states, extended from the Indus and Hemalaya mountains to the southern extremity of the peninsula, including the whole of Guzerat, of which province the Mahrattas had lately completed the conquest. The civil administration was conducted by a cousin of the Peishwa, who was called the Bhao; and the command of the army was given, as already seen, to his brother Ruganoth Rao, better known by the name of Ragoba; and thus Balajee confined all power to his own family.

The melancholy fate of the Emperor Alamgir the Second, and the confusion that invariably attends a revolution thus violently effected, now afforded a prospect to Balajee Rao of realizing the long-cherished hope of establishing the Mahratta dominion over the whole of Hindūstan. Ragoba had been

occupied since the restoration of Ghazee-ud-din, with the conquest of Moultan and Lahore, of which he had gained possession with the assistance of the Siks, who had been long hidden in the mountains, but were now beginning to appear again in great numbers.

Sik Chief.

The invasion and occupation of these provinces naturally led to a war with Ahmed of Durani, to whom they had belonged; and he therefore hastened to the aid of the Rohillas, through whose country the Mahrattas had to pass in their way to Delhi, the possession of which was the grand object of their ambitious views. The timely assistance of the Afghans obliged the Mahrattas to retreat, but not before they had destroyed as many as one thousand three hundred villages, and reduced the whole country to a piteous state of desolation. Great preparations were then made for a new campaign, under the conduct of the Bhao; which serves to show the increased wealth and refinement of the Mahrattas, whose taste for luxury seems, at this period, to have equalled that of the Moguls in the days of their glory. Their spacious tents were lined with silks and broad cloths, and surmounted by gilded ornaments; each suite belonging to the officers being enclosed by screens of coloured canvas. Trains of elephants, horses superbly caparisoned, gay banners, and all the splendid accompaniments of an Indian army, were displayed on this occasion, and the principal officers wore cloth of gold.

All the great Mahratta chiefs were engaged in this expedition. Delhi was stormed; and although its inhabitants were not treated with the barbarity that stained the triumphs of Nadir Shah and Ahmed of Durani, the Bhao used his right as a conqueror to deface, for the sake of their valuable ornaments, the palaces, tombs, and shrines, which even the Persians and Afghans had spared. The silver ceiling of the hall of audience was torn down and coined into rupees, of which it is said to have yielded seventeen lacs.

Ghazee-ud-din and his protegee, Shah Jehan, whom he had dignified with the imperial title, had escaped, and the Bhao proposed to proclaim as Emperor, Wiswas Rao, the son of the Peishwa; but this design was frustrated by the approach of the Afghans, headed by their intrepid King, Ahmed, who had been for some time detained on the frontiers of Oude, by the monsoon. As soon as the rains had ceased he marched towards Delhi, and disposed his army in such a manner that the Mahrattas were entirely surrounded. His next measure was to intercept their supplies, for which they depended chiefly on the Brinjarras, or camp dealers, a class of men whose trade was to furnish armies with provisions in time of war, and who were by no means scrupulous as to the means of obtaining the corn and cattle which they brought into the camps, so that the country people suffered constantly from their depredations.

Frequent skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood of Delhi, but Ahmed still delayed coming to a regular engagement, thinking to obtain an easier victory, if he first reduced the strength of the enemy by famine. All day long, this active chief was on horseback, riding about in all directions, to reconnoitre; and at night he kept watch, to prevent a surprise, sometimes saying to his officers, "Do you sleep; I will take care to arouse you in case of danger."

In the mean time the Mahrattas, pent up within the city, and suffering severely for want of food, were begging to be led out to risk an engagement in the open field; and the Bhao at length yielded to their entreaties. An obstinate battle was fought near the town of Panniput: it lasted from day-break till two in the afternoon; when the Mahrattas having lost their commander, and most of their great chiefs, gave way, and left the Afghans masters of the field, who followed up their victory by pursuing and cutting to pieces all who had

not fallen in the fight; so that the Mahratta army was totally destroyed; and few were the families throughout the nation that had not to mourn the loss of friends and relatives killed on that fatal day. The Peishwa's son was among the slain, and it was supposed that the Bhao also fell; but as his body was never found, some believed that he had withdrawn from the field, to end his days in religious seclusion. This celebrated battle took place on the 7th of January, 1761. The Peishwa was so much affected at the news of the defeat, that he retired to a temple he had erected in the environs of Poonah, where he died in a few months. His death was sincerely lamented by the people, especially the rural population, whose condition had been materially improved during the period of his reign.

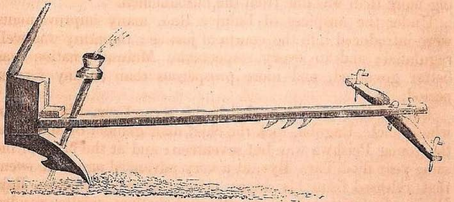
Under former rulers, the rents of villages had often been farmed by petty chiefs, who paid a certain sum to the government, and took the chance of the crops, to gain or lose by the bargain; but this arrangement subjected the peasantry to great oppression, as these persons seldom contented themselves with the share of the produce which the law allowed them, and there was no redress for the injured parties; farming of rents had therefore been abolished, and such regulations made, as effectually prevented the collectors of revenues from exacting more than was due from the husbandmen.

Under the auspices of Balajee Rao, many improvements were introduced into the courts of justice; the army was well regulated; and in every respect the Mahratta nation was better governed, and more prosperous than at any former period.

Balajee Rao was succeeded by his second son, Madoo Rao, whose uncle, Ragoba, took the chief management of affairs, as the young Peishwa was but seventeen; and at the close of the same year died Tara Bye, at a very advanced age; an event that released from his dreary prison the royal captive, Raja Ram, who, with ruined health and broken spirits, resided quietly at Satara, where he was considered in the light of a prisoner at large, nor did he ever attempt to interfere with the politics of the state.

Ahmed of Durani, after the victory of Panniput, returned to Cabul, and the empire of the Moguls being left without any acknowledged head, was thus virtually ended.

Though so very often invaders and conquerors the Afghans could never long maintain any of their conquests in India Proper. The climate appears to have affected them far more than it does Europeans. The undisciplined mountaineers, who were merely clans conducted by their several chieftains, were very greedy for plunder; but so soon as they obtained their booty they were still more eager to return to their own cool, airy regions. Then again, the Afghan prince who remained long absent, was sure to be attacked in his native territories by some other prince or chief, while he was constantly exposed to the chance of some brother, uncle, or cousin claiming his musnud and murdering his wives and children. In several conjunctures it appeared that the Afghans must inevitably become masters not only of the Punjab, but of the whole of Hindūstan as far as the frontiers of Aracan and Ava. We have explained the causes that impeded their permanent conquest; and now, by degrees, the warlike Siks were recovering strength and confidence, and constructing a truly formidable state which would interpose between them and the Indus.



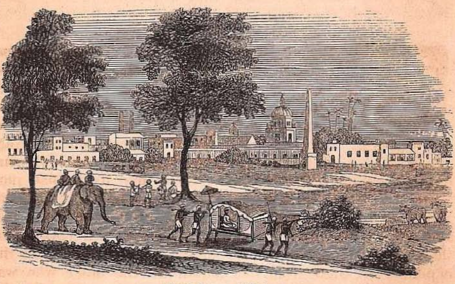
Indian Plough.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

THE splendid empire created by Báber and Akber, after enduring little more than two hundred years, was now for ever laid prostrate. The Great Mogul, whether at Delhi or elsewhere, whether at large or shut up in a state-prison, was a mere pageant, and flitting, indistinct phantom. Men heard his name but saw nothing of his deeds. Among the Mussulman portion of the population there existed a sort of traditional reverence for the descendant of the great Timour, who had spread his conquests and his faith over such vast portions of the globe; but few people dwelling at any distance from the capital ever knew from one month till the other who was Grand Mogul, or what his actual condition. Usually the poor, discrowned, dishonoured Emperor was tossed from one Mahratta chief to another. He was very often subjected to the indignity of stripes and blows, and might consider himself fortunate if he kept possession of his eyes and escaped mutilation. But for the rise of a European power the far greater portion of India would have fallen into a condition of complete anarchy; for the Mahrattas, who formed by far the strongest of the native powers, had little capacity for civil government, and few of the qualities requisite for the construction of a new, consolidated, peaceful empire. They would have helped to place the tigers of the jungle in the towns and villages of the Carnatic and Hindūstan.

While the foregoing events were passing in the north of India, the great question was decided whether the French or English were to be the future lords of the country. The issue of the contest was for some time doubtful, but the British arms at length prevailed; and a few days after the great battle of Panniput, the French capital of Pondicherry was surrendered to Colonel Coote; and the hopes of France, with regard to extending her dominion over the East, were thus terminated.

Madras was at this period the capital of the British possessions in India. Its territory extended five miles along the shore, and was about one mile in breadth. The English division of

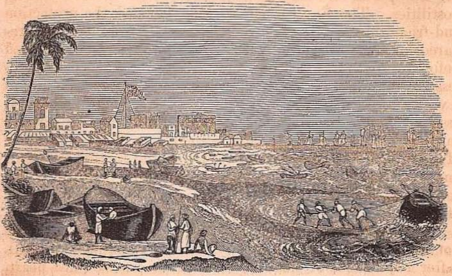


Black Town of Madras.

the town, called Fort St. George, did not contain more than fifty houses, besides the warehouses of the Company, and two churches, the one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic. The wall and batteries separated this division from the part inhabited by Armenian and Indian merchants, who were, in general, very wealthy. This portion of the city, together with a space allotted to the poorer natives, was called the Black Town, and the European part was called the White Town. Many of the natives, both in the city and district, were weavers in the employ of the East India Company.

Madras is not very well situated as a trading capital, on account of the difficulty of approaching it by sea, as it possesses no harbour or inlet of any kind to break the violence of the surge, which rolls heavily upon the coast at all seasons of the year, particularly from October to January, when ships can neither arrive nor depart, on account of the storms and typhoons that prevail during the whole of that period. Even at the most favourable season of the year vessels usually anchor a mile or two from the shore, and their cargoes are conveyed to land on a kind of raft, called a catamaran, which

is constructed of three flat pieces of timber, eight or ten feet long, tied together, the middle one being longer than the others, and curved upwards at the ends. It is pushed through the surf by a man with a paddle, who is often washed off, but so well practised in his calling, that he leaps on again in an instant. The catamarans are quite safe when a boat or any other vessel would be inevitably lost. The regular boats of that coast are wide, deep, and of a clumsy



Madras Roads, with the manner of hauling the boats through the surge.

form, and are made of planks, fastened together with strong cord. They are rowed with ten or twelve paddles, the boatmen keeping time to a monotonous but not unpleasing song. The city has been greatly enlarged and improved, as will be noticed hereafter.

The next transaction of which we shall speak in the complicated history of India are the wars with the native princes, which led to the important conquests of Bengal and Mysore, by which a company of British merchants became the powerful sovereigns of a vast empire. The English authorities in Bengal had been opposed from the beginning by the viceroys of that province, until the time of Aliverdi Khan, a prince of great skill, both in civil and military affairs, who had successfully protected his dominions from the inroads of the Mahrattas,

and was ruling at the time of the defeat and capture of the pirate Angria. Aliverdi was a friend to the English and their trade. He allowed them to dig a moat round Calcutta, to protect that city from predatory attacks, and granted them many privileges, by which they were enabled to improve their settlements in Bengal.

Aliverdi died in 1756, when he was succeeded in the office of Nabob or governor, by his grand-nephew, Suraja Dowlah, a narrow-minded tyrannical prince, who had always disliked the Europeans, and very soon found a pretext for commencing hostilities. The English had so long enjoyed the protection and friendship of Aliverdi Khan, that they were but ill prepared for a war with his successor: therefore, when he appeared before Calcutta with a force that made resistance nearly hopeless, all the women and children were sent at night on board a vessel, to be conveyed to a place of safety, while the council assembled to deliberate on the means of warding off the threatened danger. So great was the alarm, that all the rest of the ships sailed away at daybreak, with the English governor and some others, who were selfish enough to secure their own retreat, thus depriving those who remained of their only means of escape.

The defensive measures adopted were very unwise, and were not carried into effect with any military steadiness or skill. After a resistance of three days the weak garrison lost heart, the English soldiers broke open the arrack-store-house in the fort, drank that ardent spirit to excess, and became mad or stupid; the water-gate was left open, the ramparts were unmanned, and thousands of the enemy rushed through the gate or escaladed the walls. Under proper guidance that garrison, weak as it was, might long have set the Nabob and his huge but undisciplined and cowardly army at defiance. Had Clive been there, with only twenty-five British soldiers, he would have held Fort William for months.

It was immediately made known to Suraja Dowlah that the fort would be surrendered; whereupon his troops marched in and took possession. The Nabob entered soon afterwards, accompanied by his vizier, Mir Jaffier, and although he had promised that no violence should be offered to the garrison, amounting to one hundred and forty-six individuals, he ordered that they should be all confined till the morning, in a small

dark room, called the Black Hole, scarcely eighteen feet square, where, during a night of the most horrible suffering, one hundred and twenty-three human beings died of thirst and suffocation, while the few who survived were found either in a state of stupefaction or frightful delirium. It appears that the Nabob had not anticipated the fatal consequences of confining his prisoners in the Black Hole, yet he evinced neither pity nor remorse when informed of the dreadful catastrophe, but merely desired that the English chief, meaning the governor of the fort, if still alive, should be brought before him. Mr. Howell, the gentleman who had assumed that office after the flight of the governor, was accordingly supported, more dead than alive, into his presence, when Suraja allowed him to sit down, and desired that a glass of water should be given to him, but not a word of regret was uttered by the unfeeling prince for the calamity of which he had been the cause.

The following anecdote will afford an instance of the dread in which this tyrant was held. One of the Hindū guards set to watch the prison on that fearful night, was willing, for a large bribe, to represent to him the horrible situation of the sufferers, and beg that they might be placed in a larger apartment; but the Nabob was asleep, and the soldier had not the courage to disturb him, although strongly tempted, both by interest and humanity, so to do.

Calcutta was very soon retaken by Colonel Clive, who also sent an expedition to the rich city of Hoogly, about twenty-five miles higher up the river, which was taken and plundered. The rage of Suraja Dowlah at these successes was unbounded. He laid siege to Calcutta, but soon finding there was no prospect of regaining possession of it, he consented to make peace, on terms sufficiently favourable to the English.

These events occurred in the early part of the war with the French; and as it was thought not improbable that the Nabob of Bengal might, under the circumstances, be disposed to afford aid to any power opposed to the English, Colonel Clive was induced to enter into the views of the vizier, Mir Jaffier, who aspired to the sovereignty of Bengal, which he proposed to obtain by deposing his master. The British government at Calcutta sanctioned this treasonable conspiracy, on condition of deriving considerable advantages in case of its success.

This was the occasion of the famous battle of Plassey, fought on the twenty-third of June, 1757, and won by the British, the event of which decided the future fortunes of India. The victory, however, was much facilitated by the desertion of Mir Jaffier, with a great part of Suraja's troops, according to the plan which he had concerted with his allies.

The Nabob, who had remained in his tent during the engagement, no sooner heard of the defection of his vizier than he mounted a camel and fled towards his capital, Moorshedabad, a city on the Ganges. Here the unfortunate prince soon found that a tyrant must not expect to meet with friends in his misfortunes. He left the city in disguise, and hired a boat, intending to proceed up the river as far as Patna; but when he arrived at Raj-mahal the boatmen declared they would go no farther till the next day, nor could he prevail on them to alter their resolution. In this distress he sought concealment for the night in a deserted garden of this once splendid city, which before the time of Aliverdi Khan had been the residence of the viceroys of Bengal; and here he was seen and recognized, in the morning, by a man whom he had formerly treated with unjust severity, and who now revenged himself by betraying the unhappy fugitive to his enemies. His fate was speedily decided. He was delivered into the hands of his late vizier, who had already assumed the rank of sovereign, and being shut up in a remote apartment of the palace, was there put to death in the night, by assassins sent for that cruel purpose.

The English received from the new sovereign of Bengal an immense sum of money, with a large accession of territory around Calcutta, and the right of taking possession of all the French settlements and factories in the province.

Scarcely, however, was Mir Jaffier seated on the throne of Bengal, when an unexpected rival appeared in the person of the Mogul prince, Shah Alum, the son of the Emperor Alamgir the Second, who, it may be remembered, had taken refuge at the court of the Nabob of Oude, and now came forward, supported by that prince, to assert his claim, as Soubehdar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; a rank that had been bestowed on him by his father. It was about this time that the unfortunate Alamgir was assassinated, when Shah Alum was immediately proclaimed emperor by his partizans at Delhi, with the sanction

of Ahmed, of Durani, who, as we have seen, had placed the government in the hands of a chief of the Rohilla nation.

The new emperor, having neither army nor money, did not return to Delhi to take possession of the throne, but he assumed the imperial title, and nominated as vizier his friend, Shuja-ud-Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, the son of Safder Jang, who, under the Emperor Ahmed Shah, had enjoyed the same dignity.

Oude is an extensive plain, situated between the Hemalaya mountains and the river Ganges. The soil is very fertile, producing sugar, cotton, indigo, opium, and many kinds of grain. In the time of the Mogul emperors Oude was one of the richest territories of Hindūstan, and after the breaking up of the empire was, for a considerable time, a wealthy and powerful state, until the misgovernment of its rulers led to a different condition of affairs, and the people, from being oppressed, neglected the cultivation of the land; the laws were disregarded; and the whole country at length became a prey to disorder and anarchy. At the time, however, of Mir Jaffier's usurpation of Bengal, Oude was in a very flourishing condition, under the dominion of Shuja-ud-Dowlah, whose father, Safder Jang, having been deposed by Ghazee-ud-din, had retired to his government of Oude, where he died shortly afterwards. Shuja, as already stated, afforded Shah Alum an asylum from the violence of Ghazee-ud-din, and assisted him to undertake a war in Bengal. In this contest the so-called Grand Mogul was a mere name; our real antagonist was the Nabob of Oude, and he very soon succumbed, leaving us in undisputed possession of the whole of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and with an authority and control which reached to his own capital and far beyond it. Nearly at the same time the French were driven out of Golconda and nearly all the rest of the Deckan, and our power was there made predominant.

Mir Jaffier died before the conclusion of the war, and was succeeded by his son, Nujeen Dowlah, who was so entirely dependent on the English, that the latter were considered by the natives as the real sovereigns of the whole country. The Emperor placed himself under their protection, and the Nabob of Oude, after sustaining several defeats, gave up the hopeless contest, and repaired to the British camp at Allahabad, to make the best terms in his power. Lord Clive, who

had just been appointed to the government of all India, proceeded to Allahabad to arrange matters with the vanquished princes, when Shuja-ud-Dowlah was permitted to resume his government, with the title of Vizier of the Empire, in return for which he became a valuable ally of the British government in India. The Emperor, with the revenues of two of the conquered districts for his support, continued to reside under the protection of the English, in the hope that they might eventually be induced to furnish him with an army, without which he could not venture to return to Delhi, where great confusion reigned, and the sovereign authority was a subject of contention. The English, however, had no intention of aiding him in this particular; therefore the disappointed prince at length applied to the Mahrattas, who espoused his cause, and, in 1771, placed him on the degraded throne at Delhi, ruling or misruling for him, and keeping him a prisoner.

As Lord Clive went up the country, and while he was staying at Allahabad, his officers were rather frequently entertained by the native grandees, whose very long banquets were usually followed by an exhibition of dancing-girls or jugglers, or by both.

The dancing-women in India—who might more correctly be called pantomimists and posture-makers—form a distinct body in society, and have their rights, privileges, and immunities, which are recognised by law. Europeans generally call them "natch-girls." A natch is an indispensable part of every grand entertainment. Mr. Forbes, who commenced his long Indian career in 1765, has left us a good account of these women, who appear not to have changed in any respect since his time.

The wealthy Mahometans, Hindūs, and Parsees, frequently entertain their friends at their garden-houses: but in these companies no women are present except the dancing-girls, who are accompanied by musicians playing on instruments somewhat like our guitar and violin. The singing-men and singing-women are hired at festivals and grand solemnities, among all sects and professions in India. Many of the dancing-girls are extremely delicate in their persons, soft and regular in their features, with forms of perfect symmetry; and, although dedicated from infancy to this profession, they in general preserve a decency and modesty in their demeanour.

Their dances require great attention, from the dancer's feet being hung with small bells, which sound in concert with the music. Two girls usually perform at the same time; their steps are not so mazy or active as ours, but much more interesting; as the song, the music, and the motions of the dance, continue to express love, hope, jealousy, and other passions, which can all be understood by those who are entirely ignorant of the language of the song. The Indians are extremely fond of this entertainment, and lavish large sums on their favourite performers. Another kind of dancing-girls are dedicated to the principal Hindū temples: these are supplied by their parents, who are taught that the presentation of a beautiful daughter to the Deity is highly acceptable: they dance and sing at the festivals, but are not considered in the character of the vestal virgins of ancient Rome, or of those we read of among the Peruvians. They generally have families by the priests of the temples. Their boys are taught to play on musical instruments, and the girls are early instructed in the profession of their mothers. All the large cities in Hindūstan contain sets of dancing-girls, under the care of their respective dueñas, who are always ready to attend for hire at weddings and other festivities, or to finish the evening entertainment of the Europeans and natives; and many of these girls often accompany the Asiatic armies into the field. The singing-men and singing-women mentioned by the aged Barzillai, and the daughters of music that we read of in the sacred pages, as well as in the ancient poets, resemble these characters in Hindūstan. The women of Israel came out to meet David and Saul, dancing to instruments of music, and complimenting Saul with having slain his thousands, and David his tens of thousands. The choristers of Palestine resemble those of India; who now celebrate a prince or general, in the same manner, at a public entrance or any other public festival. These women are frequently very magnificent in their attire, and very redolent of perfumes. They scent their long black hair with oil of cloves, cinnamon, atar of roses and the like; and they generally wear strongly-scented flowers.*

The particulars which follow are from more recent observers.

* Oriental Memoirs.

At first, most Europeans find both the music and the dancing of a natch slow and monotonous. Generally, however, a taste for both is created by time and habit. All are agreed that the women of India, who are not crushed by poverty and hunger, are exceedingly graceful in their form and deportment. They have an erect, free, and elastic gait. Every one who has paused at a 'ghâṭ on the river, or at a fountain, or that has ridden through a town at morning or evening, has been sensibly struck with their pleasing gestures and graceful action. Corset-makers find no employment among them, and yet they possess forms which cannot be surpassed. Their extraordinary degree of grace and elasticity has been, in good part, attributed to this. From their earliest childhood they are taught to carry vessels on the head, and, as they grow up, a daily morning visit is paid to the village or town well for a supply of water, which is always brought home by the girls in earthen jars, thus poised. This exercise has the effect of bringing all the muscles of the back into action, and consequently strengthening the spine; while the chest is thrown forward and expanded. No crooked backs or crooked shoulders are seen out in Hindūstan. This employment teaches them, as they walk, to permit the centre of gravity to fall on the middle of the foot, giving them, as they go along, a firm and upright gait. One of the Company's medical officers, Dr. Henry H. Spry, is of opinion, that this exercise of carrying small vessels of water on the head might be advantageously introduced into our boarding schools, and private families, and that it might entirely supersede the present machinery of dumb-bells, back-boards, skipping-ropes, &c. The young lady ought to be taught to carry the jar as these Hindū women do, without ever touching it with her hand.

The daily morning walk from the river side, from the fountain or the well, certainly prepares the natch girls for the saloons of high life, and gives them a deportment and an ease which they rarely lose even at the approach of old age, and when all their other charms are faded and gone. It is to be noted that the same practice of water carrying leads to precisely the same results in the south of Spain, and in the south of Italy, as in India. A Neapolitan female peasant will carry on her head her vessel full of water to the very

brim over a rough road and not spill a drop of the water; and the acquisition of this art, or knack, gives her the same erect and elastic gait, and the same expanded chest and well-formed back and shoulders.

In India, as in nearly all other Asiatic countries, the ladies and gentlemen do not dance themelves, but are mere spectators of the performances of hired, professional dancers. No oriental can comprehend how we should take the trouble to dance as we do.

The Hindūs are averse to many of those accomplishments in women that are so admired by Europeans. They say they would be injurious to that simplicity of manners and decorum of behaviour which are requisite to render them estimable in their families; that, by too much engaging the mind, they would lead their attention away from their children and husband, and give them a disrelish to those cares for which they think Providence has designed them; and, as they strictly adhere to this opinion, there are few Hindū women to be found who can either read or write.

But the dancing-women, who are the votaries of pleasure, are taught every qualification which they imagine may tend to captivate and entertain the other sex. They compose a separate class, live under the protection of government, and according to their own particular rules.

In the code of Gentoo laws and customs it is said: "If a dancing-girl commit a crime that renders her property liable to confiscation, the magistrate shall confiscate all her effects, except her clothes, jewels, and dwelling. In the same manner to a soldier shall be left his implements of war, and, to a man exercising any profession, the implements of that profession shall be exempted from the confiscation of the rest of his property.

The dancing-women eat meat of any kind except beef. They even drink spirituous liquors, which, perhaps, may have led the Greeks who accompanied Alexander to imagine that the other Hindūs did the same.

They appear in a variety of dresses. Besides those that have been already mentioned they sometimes wear trowsers like the Persians; a jama of wrought muslin, or gold or silver tissue; the hair plaited and hanging down behind, with spiral curls on each side of the face; and to the gold or silver rings

on the ankles in some of their dances they attach small bells of the same metals. The figures of the Bacchantes, that are to be met with in antique paintings and bas-reliefs, may serve as an exact representation of some of the dancing-women in Hindūstan.

No religious ceremony, or festival of any kind, is thought to be performed with requisite order and magnificence unless accompanied by dancing; and every great temple has a set of dancers belonging to it.

In a country of such vast extent of latitude the complexion as well as the physical construction of the people must be liable to considerable variation; those in the northern being more fair and robust than those in the southern provinces. But the Hindū women in general are finely shaped, gentle in their manners, and have something soft and even musical in their voices.

An exceedingly graceful dance of the Natch girls is called the "Kite dance." The air is slow and expressive, and the dancers imitate in their gestures the movements of a person flying the kite,—an amusement much more common in India and China than in England. The attitudes incident to this performance are most favourable to Indian grace and suppleness, and the heavenward direction of the eyes displays the finest features of the dancers to the very best advantage. At Allahabad and at Benares the Natch girls were and still are very numerous. So of the jugglers, whose tricks, like the dances, seem to have known little or no variation since the time of Lord Clive, or even since the days of the Emperor Baber. Forbes says:—

"I was frequently amused at the public wells and halting places, by the vanjarrahs and their families already described; and especially by the jugglers, who generally found out the encampments of these travelling merchants. There they spread their carpets, and performed feats of legerdemain superior to any I have seen in England; the most conspicuous was generally one of those women mentioned by Dr. Fryer, who hold nine gilded balls in play, with her hands and feet, and the muscles of arms and legs, for a long time together, without letting them fall. These people also enable me to confirm another anecdote, which I could not have so scientifically described. This observing traveller says, 'I

saw a man who swallowed a chain such as our jacks have, and made it clink in his stomach; but on pulling it out it was not so pleasant to the ladies, for whose diversion it was brought. I was promised also to see a fellow cast up his tripes by his mouth, stomach and all, showing them to the beholders; but this we excused. In his stead, was brought another, who by suction, or drawing of his breath, so contracted his lower belly that it had nothing left to support it, but fell flat on his loins, the midriff being forced into the thorax, and the muscles of the abdomen as clearly marked out by the stiff tendons of the linea alba, as by the most accurate dissection could be made apparent; he moving each row, like living columns, by turns.' These people were frequently accompanied by strolling comedians, who acted Hindū plays in the style of the fantoccini. * * * * * I sometimes frequented the jatterahs, or religious festivals, at the Hindū temples of Zinore and Chandode; or rather, I mingled with the motley crowd who then assembled under the sacred groves on the banks of the Nerbudda. It is unnecessary to repeat the religious ceremonies, or the sports and pastimes of the Hindūs, who, in astonishing numbers, resort to these consecrated spots on such occasions. At the jatterah of Cubbeer-Burr, near Baroche, the pilgrims, of various descriptions, often exceed one hundred thousand, without reckoning the comedians, dancing-girls, snake-charmers, jugglers, and those of similar professions, who come to amuse them. I have elsewhere mentioned some feats of the Indian jugglers; at Zinore I saw one which surpassed everything of the kind I had before witnessed, I mean the swallowing a sword up to the hilt. Had I not afterwards met with the same set on the island of Salsette, exhibiting before the English chief at Tannah, I should have doubted the evidence of my senses. I witnessed the fact more than once, and was convinced there was no deception. Mr. Johnson's account of this extraordinary feat, and description, as a professional man, may be interesting, although no longer an uncommon exhibition even in England: as such I transcribe it.

"'Having been visited by one of these conjurors, I resolved to see clearly his mode of performing this operation; and for that purpose ordered him to seat himself on the floor of the verandah. The sword he intended to use has some resem-

blance to a common spit in shape, except at the handle, which is merely a part of the blade itself, rounded and elongated into a little rod. It is from twenty-two to twenty-six inches in length, about an inch in breadth, and about one-fifth of an inch in thickness; the edges and point are blunt, being rounded, and of the same thickness as the rest of the blade: it is of iron or steel, smooth, and a little bright.

"'Having satisfied myself with respect to the sword, by attempting to bend it, and by striking it against a stone, I firmly grasped it by the handle, and ordered him to proceed. He first took a small phial of oil, and with one of his fingers rubbed a little of it over the surface of the instrument: then stretching up his neck as much as possible, and bending himself a little backwards, he introduced the point of it into his mouth, and pushed it gently down his throat, until my hand, which was on the handle, came in contact with his lips. He then made a sign to me with one of his hands, to feel the point of the instrument between his breast and navel; which I could plainly do, by bending him a little more backwards, and pressing my fingers on his stomach, he being a very thin and lean fellow. On letting go the handle of the sword, he instantly fixed on it a little machine that spun round, and disengaged a small firework, which encircling his head with a blue flame, gave him, as he then sat, a truly diabolical appearance. On withdrawing the instrument, several parts of its surface were covered with blood, which showed that he was still obliged to use a degree of violence, in the introduction.

"'I was at first a good deal surprised at this transaction altogether; but when I came to reflect a little upon it, there appeared nothing at all improbable, much less impossible in the business. He told me, on giving him a trifle, that he had been accustomed, from his early years, to introduce at first small elastic instruments down his throat and into his stomach; that by degrees he had used larger ones, until at length he was able to use the present iron sword.

"'As I mentioned before, the great flexibility of their joints and muscles, the laxness of their fibres, and their temperate mode of life, render them capable of having considerable violence done to the fleshy parts of their bodies, without any danger of the inflammation and other bad effects which would

be produced in the irritable bodies of Europeans: witness their being whirled round on the point of a pole, suspended by a hook thrust into the fleshy part of their backs, without experiencing any fatal consequences. There is, therefore, no great wonder, if by long habit in stretching up their necks they are able to bring the different windings of the stomach into a straight line, or nearly so, and thereby slide down the sword into the latter organ without much difficulty.'" * Another amusement which was presented to Lord Clive's officers, and is still presented to every European stranger in India, consisted of the dancing, not of women, but of snakes!

The Cobra de Capello, or hooded-snake, is a beautiful serpent in appearance, but one of the most venomous of all the coluber class, its bite generally proving mortal in less than an hour. It is called the hooded-snake from having a curious hood near the head, which it contracts or enlarges at pleasure. The centre of this hood is marked in black and white like a pair of spectacles, whence the creature is frequently called the spectacle-snake. Of this genus are the dancing-snakes, which are carried in baskets throughout Hindūstan, and procure a maintenance for a set of people, who play a few simple notes on a sort of flute or flageolet, with which the snakes seem much delighted, keeping time by a graceful motion of the head, erecting about half their length from the ground, and following the music with gentle, graceful curves, not unlike the undulating lines of a swan's neck. At times twenty of these dangerous reptiles may be seen at their dance, with many hundreds of natives looking on with as much interest as we take in the performance of a first-rate opera-dancer. It has been conjectured, and it may be said to be almost certain, that these musical snakes were well known in Palestine. Every one remembers the figure in the Psalms, where the ungodly are compared to the deaf-adder, which stoppeth her ears, and refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. It is a well-attested fact that when a house is infested with snakes, the musicians or charmers are sent for, who, by playing their simple slow tunes, find out their hiding-places, and charm them to destruction; for no sooner do the snakes hear the music than they come softly from their retreats, and are easily captured.

* 'Oriental Memoirs.'

When the music ceases the dancing-snakes which have been exhibited appear motionless, but if not immediately covered up in the basket the spectators are liable to fatal accidents. "Among my drawings," says Forbes, "is that of a Cobra de Capello, which danced for an hour on the table while I painted it. I frequently handled it, to observe the beauty of the spots, and especially the spectacles on the hood, not doubting but that its venomous fangs had been previously extracted. But the next morning my upper-servant, a devout Mussulman, came to me in great haste, and desired I would instantly retire, and praise the Almighty for my good fortune. Not understanding his meaning, I told him that I had already performed my devotions. Mahomet then informed me that, while purchasing some fruit in the bazaar, he saw the man who had been with me on the preceding evening entertaining the country people with his dancing-snakes. The peasants, according to the usual custom, sat on the ground round the charmer, when, either from the music stopping too suddenly, or from some other cause of irritation, the vicious reptile which I had so often handled darted at the throat of a young woman, and inflicted a wound of which she died in about half an hour. Mahomet repeated his advice for praise and thanksgiving, and recorded me in his calendar as a lucky man." *

We have seen the manuscript letter of one of Lord Clive's officers, describing in a lively manner the effects produced on him and his comrades by their first attendance at a snake-dance. They did not enjoy the sport at all: the heroes of Plassy and twenty other battles were rather shy of the cobras, and some of them took to their heels and ran out of the house. These snake-charmers and exhibitions of dancing-snakes are very common in Ceylon; but we have been informed by the late Dr. Henry Marshall, who resided many years in the island, that there the venomous fangs were invariably extracted. That gentleman frequently saw the charmers draw all manner of snakes from their hiding-holes in the houses, and from places where they were little suspected to be, and charmed them into their baskets, when they ceased playing their instruments and covered them up with thick sheets of cotton. In Turkey we have ourselves often seen Arabs exhibiting dancing-snakes

* 'Oriental Memoirs.

and practising the art and mystery of snake-charmers; but in that country there are no cobras, and very few of the other snakes are dangerous.

A few years after Lord Clive's visit to Allahabad, the great Warren Hastings witnessed at Lucknow a wonderful feat performed by an Indian juggler. The old Venetian traveller, whose veracity used to be so frequently doubted, asserted that he had seen in the East a man walk—not swim, nor what is popularly called treading-water, but literally *walk*—at more than the height of his waist above the bottom of a river. Mr. Hastings, who in more than one instance confirmed the old traveller's veracity, says: "My own evidence of a similar feat occurred when I was at Lucknow. One morning I went to visit the Prince Jehander Shah, whose quarters then occupied a terraced house close adjoining the bank of the river. I had scarcely made my obeisance when the Prince said, 'I have a very extraordinary man in my service, who possesses the art of walking beyond his depth in the water. You shall see him if he is here.' Advancing then to the brink of the terrace, and calling to the people below, he asked if such a one, mentioning his name, was there. The man instantly made his appearance, being just then occupied in cooking his dinner, with no other garment but his loonghee.* The Prince commanded him to let me see him walk in the water. The man, without other bidding or preparation, advanced, passed leisurely into the channel of the river, where his movements at this time, after a lapse of thirty-six years, still retain the indistinct but certain traces in my remembrance of his having walked and moved about in the surrounding stream with a buoyancy apparently independent of the physical effects of gravitation." †

Although it exhibited symptoms of decline, Allahabad, at the time of Clive's visit, was still a well-peopled city, with many splendid edifices. The Nabob of Oude, whose capital was at Lucknow, considerably higher up the river, was profusely decked with necklaces, ear-rings, and armlets of the most

* The loonghee is merely that slight article of dress which the natives wear round the middle.

† This manuscript letter, at that time in possession of the late Elijah Barwell Impey, Esq., was first published by Mr. Charles Mac Farlane, in his 'Romance of Travel.' London. Charles Knight. 1840.

brilliant diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls. His sabre, his dagger, and all the arms which he wore, or which were worn by his immediate attendants, were inlaid with the richest jewels. He had a long train of elephants, some of which were of unusual size, and imported from Siam or Pegu. The nominal Grand Mogul, Shah Alum, received his Lordship in very great state, being seated on a throne which in shape was much like an English four-post bed, but which was glittering with gold and precious gems. But throne, gold, and gems were all the property of the Nabob, the Emperor possessing nothing that he could call his own, and subsisting entirely on the resources of the Nabob, whom, as we have seen, he had nominated his Grand Vizier. This potentate of Lucknow was as faithless as the rest of the Nabobs; he was true neither to his unfortunate but capricious and faithless sovereign nor to his treaty with the English, who, after having him at their mercy, granted him very liberal conditions. When Lord Clive returned to Calcutta he declared that he had not found one prince or great man among the natives—no, not the shadow of one—who could be trusted for a single day, or over whom it was possible to exercise a permanent influence through any other means than those of fear or actual coercion.

HYDER ALI.

No name is more celebrated in the history of India, particularly as regards the connection of that country with Great Britain, than that of Hyder Ali, King of Mysore. The fall of the Mogul empire, and its consequent want of a supreme head, had emboldened many a daring adventurer to muster around him a lawless band, composed of men who were at once soldiers and robbers, and, by their aid, to seize upon some petty state, and set himself up as an independent sovereign. Hyder Ali was one of these chiefs. He was a Mohammedan, of obscure origin, who had served under one of the native princes, in alliance with the French, at the famous siege of Trichinopoly, and had enriched himself by a regular

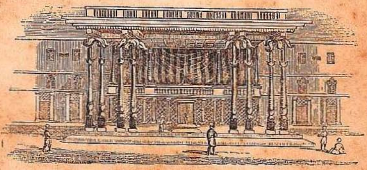
system of robbery, pursued on a most extensive scale. It is stated by some writers, that he was a native of the town of Colar, and the son of a silk-weaver. It should appear, however, that the weaver turned soldier or robber—the two terms being at this period interchangeable or synonymous in India. Hyder was accustomed to talk of the exploits of his father, and of the valuable lessons he had acquired from him as a warrior and politician. Besides pursuing the usual predatory excursions of such freebooters, who constantly plundered the villages, and seized convoys of horses, grain, and cattle, Hyder's men would carry off money, plate, jewels, and wearing apparel, and even stop the women and children, to despoil them of the ornaments they wore.

His forces were originally formed out of the freebooting bands and tribes that abounded in Western India, and that sought no other reward than the right and privilege of plunder. Instead of paying them, Hyder, in a manner, received pay from them; for, in enrolling under his banner, they engaged to give him half of all the booty they might make. By degrees, he acquired more horses, camels, and elephants, more money, and the command of more men, than any of the neighbouring princes. The abilities of this robber chief were undoubted; they were altogether surprising, considering the circumstances of his life, and his total want of education, and they improved by practice, age, and experience. Still, however, he remained a barbarian, and the plaudits bestowed upon him by many European writers are exaggerated and absurd. That such a man as Hyder could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India—or, at least, that he could ever have rendered that sway durable—appears to us a most fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty, should have found admirers in historians (like Mill) pedantically moral and severe in the estimate of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the pre-determined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted, the establishment of the British empire in India—that great and glorious result, not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was, but admirable in its general operation, as conferring more happiness upon many millions of people than they ever had enjoyed,

or could ever hope to enjoy, under their native Mohammedan or Hindū rulers.*

As a devout Mussulman himself, Hyder Ali gave the preference to Mohammedans; but men of all the races, castes, and religions of India joined his standard, in the superstitious belief that it must always be fortunate and victorious, and with the conviction that they might all enrich themselves by his forays and invasions. At one time, he appears to have had in his camp a considerable number of Mahrattas, who had deserted from the Peishwar. He had been born in the midst of internal wars and revolutions, and he had seen how many fortunate soldiers or powerful robber chiefs, as obscure in birth and as low in fortune as himself, had succeeded in gaining and keeping great fragments of the Mogul empire. It is said, that while yet a poor soldier, with nothing but his horse and his sharp sword, he confidently looked forward to the day when he should be seated on a Musnud.

At length, Hyder Ali found himself at the head of an army, consisting of fifteen hundred horse and five thousand foot soldiers, with a train of elephants, camels, and all other warlike appendages of a great chief. Flushed with success, his ambition was directed towards the possession of a kingdom.



Palace of Mysore.

The state on which he had fixed his views was Mysore, a territory of Southern India, nearly equal in size to the whole of England, possessing a delightful climate, and in a high state of cultivation. Mysore had, from time immemorial, been governed by Hindū Rajas, who, since the Mohammedan

* Charles Mac Farlane, 'Our Indian Empire.'

conquests, had been tributary to the Emperors of Delhi, but had, like other princes, availed themselves of the weak and troubled state of the empire to withhold the tribute, and assume an independence which, in the days of the more powerful Emperors, they were not able to maintain. As the dominions of the Raja bordered close upon the country of the Mahrattas, he was glad of the assistance of great military chiefs to repel the invasions of that people, and Hyder Ali, whose plan was to raise himself, by degrees, to the sovereignty, performed such signal services against them, that he was appointed commander of the Mysorean army, and, after a time, became chief minister at the court, although he could neither read nor write.

It would be tedious to trace the various artifices by which the bold adventurer reached the point at which he aimed: suffice it to say, that, after meeting with some reverses, he succeeded in deposing the Raja, and seating himself on the throne of Mysore, about the time that the English completed the conquest of Bengal. He then began to extend his territories on every side, by invading and conquering those of the neighbouring princes, and augmented his treasures by the plunder of their capitals.

At the end of the year 1761, he was keeping a splendid court at Seringapatam, and his authority seemed fully established in every part of Mysore. It was impossible for him to be quiet; his retainers were always wanting fresh wars, for the sake of fresh booty, and the high notions entertained of his ability and lucky star were constantly attracting others of the loose marauding tribes, but owning no sovereign, or no law or right save that of the sword.

Among the important conquests by which Hyder Ali established a large and powerful kingdom in the south of India, was that of Calicut, so famous in the history of the Portuguese, and ruled, as at the time of their first landing in India, by a prince called the Zamorin, who, to avoid falling into the hands of the victor, set fire to his palace, and perished in the flames.

The rapid successes of Hyder Ali naturally alarmed the other potentates, especially Nizam Ali, Soubahdar of the Deccan, and Madoo Rao, the ruler of the Mahratta country. Nizam Ali had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Deccan in

1760, by the murder of his brother, Salabat Jung, and, after some warfare with the English, had made peace with them, on condition that they should pay him an annual tribute for a certain territory along the Coromandel coast, called the Northern Circars, to which the Emperor had given them a title, but which had always formed a part of the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Besides having agreed to pay tribute for the peaceable possession of this tract of country, the British government had also consented to furnish Nizam Ali with auxiliary forces when required; and as he claimed the performance of this promise when about to join the Peishwa in an invasion of Mysore, the English became involved in a war with Hyder Ali, although they had no direct quarrel with that prince. They were not unwilling, it is true, to seize the opportunity of checking the progress of a rising power that might interfere with their own views of supremacy over India; and, in 1767, hostilities were commenced. Tippoo Saib, son of Hyder Ali, then a youth not more than seventeen years of age, highly distinguished himself by his courage and ability during this war, which was carried on, with varied success, for about two years, the advantage being generally on the side of Hyder Ali, who had bribed the Mahrattas to withdraw from the confederacy, and was thus relieved from the most numerous portion of his foes. At length, seeing no immediate prospect of success, Nizam Ali and his English allies concluded a treaty of peace with Hyder, by the terms of which all parties were placed, with regard to possessions, in exactly the same position in which they had stood before the war.

In their first campaign against the English, the Mysoreans plundered, burned, and destroyed all the towns and villages in the open country between the mountains and the sea, and even sacked the Black Town of Madras. Their forces were all mounted, and it was to the rapidity of their movements, and to our woful want of cavalry, that they were indebted for their successes, and enjoyed for a considerable time an impunity of robbery and devastation. Whenever our troops could come up with them they were beaten and scattered, whatever might be their superiority in numbers. In another campaign, the Mysoreans, carefully avoiding a battle, and marching rapidly by some of the less frequented ghauts or passes, poured down

again into the Carnatic, laid waste the English provinces of Madura and Tinevelly, penetrated into the district of Pondichery, and ransacked innumerable towns and villages. Their rapid light cavalry cut off several small English detachments, and laid waste the country from which we drew our supplies. Hyder even took a considerable number of English prisoners, whom he sent off to Seringapatam, where they had to endure very barbarous treatment. Through our weakness in cavalry, we could never come up with him or interrupt him. While our men were wearing themselves out by forced marches on their own legs, his people on horses flitted from place to place, being seldom seen, and even seldom heard of, until they had plundered or burned some of our towns. If we had had one regiment of British cavalry on the spot, and if a few corps of native irregular horse had been raised, we could either have prevented his descending through the ghauts, or have soon driven him back through those mountain passes. But at this period, both the Company and the Home Government chose to consider that their finances were embarrassed, and that it was difficult to raise money for warlike objects; and thus property to the amount of many millions of pounds sterling was sacrificed, and an immense amount of misery inflicted on our Indian subjects and dependants, who had all clearly a right to claim protection at our hands. A second time the Mysoreans made a rush upon Madras with 6,000 horse, and it was only by a hurried negociation that the Black Town, and the rich warehouses, the country houses, the neighbouring villages, were saved from a second spoliation and destruction.

Though rather small, the horses of the Mysoreans were full of vigour and mettle; they were at once fleet and capable of enduring immense fatigue. Most of the officers of any consequence were mounted on splendid Arab chargers, imported from the Persian Gulf. The horses, well trained and well bitted, were admirably in hand; and all the men rode well, because they were allowed to ride in their old, natural, national, oriental fashion, and not (like our men) put upon unsafe saddles, with long, dangling stirrups, in an unnatural, forced, false position. The sabres they wielded were kept as sharp as razors, and woe to the English soldier upon whom one of their blades descended! All the Indians, and indeed all the Asiatic nations, make use of sharp swords, and before going

into battle, take care to look at their edges; yet we, who have had and still have so much to do with them, blindly persist in sending our cavalry soldiers into action with awkward, blunt sabres, that are good neither for cutting nor for thrusting.*

No sooner had peace been restored to Mysore, than a new invasion of the Mahrattas exposed the people of that country to fresh scenes of misery and desolation. Madoo Rao conducted the army in person, and took several strong fortresses, but, in the midst of the campaign, was obliged, in consequence of ill-health, to give up the command and return to Poona; nor was he ever again well enough to take an active part in the wars. In the war still carried on in Mysore, his place was supplied by Trimbuck Rao, a great chief, who was so successful, that Hyder Ali was eventually obliged to purchase peace by the cession of a great part of his northern dominions, and the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees, or one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, with the promise of an equal sum at a future period, not specified; by which he well understood that, if he desired to preserve his territories from the ravages of the Mahrattas, he must pay a large price for their forbearance.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty died the Peishwa, Madoo Rao, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He had been highly respected and much beloved as a sovereign, having been mild and equitable in his government, and especially famed for protecting the poor from oppression, and upholding equally the rights of all classes. His widow burned herself on his funeral pile. He was succeeded by his brother, Narrain Rao, a young man, scarcely seventeen, who was assassinated in the following year, in consequence of an insurrection of the troops, who forced their way into the palace, where two of the leaders killed the unfortunate youth in the arms of a faithful old servant, who, in trying to save him, shared his fate. It was suspected by many, that the ambition of his uncle Ragoba, who succeeded to the vacant dignity, had led to the untimely death of the young Peishwa; but although there is sufficient reason to believe that Ragoba had authorized the seizure and imprisonment of his nephew, the crime

* On this very important subject see a recent and invaluable work, 'Cavalry, its History and Tactics,' by Captain Nolan, 15th Hussars. London, Bosworth, 1853.

of the murder appears to have rested with his wife, who is supposed to have altered a written order from her husband to the conspirators, by erasing a word that meant, to seize, and substituting one that signified, to kill.

Ragoba was proclaimed Peishwa; but his accession was opposed by a certain party in the state; and Hyder Ali took advantage of the confusion that ensued, to make an effort for the recovery of the districts wrested from him during the late war. Rágoba hastened to defend the conquered territories, but being soon recalled by the news of a violent insurrection, he made peace with Hyder, by restoring some of the provinces he had lost. The Peishwa, whose authority was far from being fully established, was now very anxious to obtain the support of the British government, which was promised to him, on condition that he should cede to the East India Company the important island of Salsette, with some smaller islands contiguous to Bombay, together with the port of Bassein, and some other territories in Guzerat, all which had belonged to the Portuguese until the year 1750, when they were expelled by the Mahrattas, who had held them ever since.

The acquisition of these islands was a point of the greatest importance to the English, because they guarded the entrance to the spacious harbour of Bombay, the most commodious port in all India. It was even then famous for its dockyard, and was well adapted to become the mart for the supply of the interior of that part of the country, and to be the great emporium of the trade with Persia, Arabia, and the Red Sea. Besides the protection which it afforded to Bombay, Salsette secured the principal trading entrance to the Mahratta country, which is said to have been supplied, at that time, with woollen cloths, and other staple commodities of Great Britain, to the amount of fourteen lacs of rupees annually. Salsette is remarkable for its cave temples, the largest of which was converted into a church by the Portuguese, and contains a colossal statue of Budha, nearly twenty feet in height. The East India Company had long been negociating with the Mahratta government for the cession of the islands, and, just before the death of Madoo Rao, had appointed a resident envoy at the court of Poona, in the hope of forwarding this desirable object. The difficulties in which Ragoba was in-

volved after the death of his nephew, at length opened the way to the treaty by which the valuable port and islands adjacent to Bombay came into the possession of the English.

In the mean time, the ministers at Poona continued to treat Ragoba as an usurper, and to carry on the government in the name of the infant son of Narrain Rao, born some months after the murder of his father, who had left a young widow to lament his fate. The English, who were bound, by virtue of their treaty with Ragoba, to place him at the head of the Mahratta states, prepared for an attack on Poona; but the difficulties they met with on their march were so great, that, instead of putting their ally in possession of the capital, they were obliged to turn back without reaching it; a movement that brought upon them the whole force of the enemy; and an action took place, in which they sustained great loss. This was the cause of what is usually termed the first Mahratta war, for the opposite party, elated with success, demanded the surrender of all the places ceded by Ragoba; and thus the English were involved in a quarrel respecting their own affairs, instead of acting merely as the champions of the Bramin chief.

The most remarkable event of this war was the capture, by the English, of the famous hill fort of Gwalior, formerly the state prison of the Mogul empire, but, at that time, in possession of the great Mahratta chief, Sindia, within whose dominions it was situated. With the exception of the conquest of this fortress, very little advantage had been gained by the English, when they found it expedient to make peace with the Mahratta government, in consequence of a new war with Hyder Ali, the king of Mysore. Ragoba being thus deprived of his principal supporters, accepted the terms which they had made for him, and retired, on a liberal pension, to a pleasant spot on the banks of the Godavery, where he soon died.

Their own jealousies and never-ceasing dissentions prevented the Mahrattas, who were so numerous and so very warlike, from obtaining a temporary ascendency throughout India; but, from their inveterate habits they were a people fitter to devastate a country than to found an empire. Their light, rapid cavalry, wherever it penetrated, left behind it plundered and ruined cities and towns, and villages in flames or

in ashes; and then the tigers of the jungle followed on their steps and established their lairs in the open spots which had but recently been the abodes of men. The Mahrattas had extended their dominion from the western sea to the coast of Orissa, and even to the borders of the Carnatic. With the exception of Bengal they had invaded and pillaged the whole of Hindūstan. We often suspect of exaggeration the numericals of Indian and all other Oriental writers, but we see no reason to doubt that these marauders occasionally swept this vast and beautiful peninsula with 200,000 horse. As early as the year 1735 they considered themselves sufficiently powerful to demand Chault or tribute from the Great Mogul, Mohamed Shah. At that period they obtained the finest portion of the province of Malwa, and imposed their heavy tax on various other provinces. They assumed the right of interfering in all the quarrels of the Hindū princes, and made no secret of their intention to expel all the Mohamedan rulers, or reduce them to the condition of tributaries and dependents. Their success would have been greater if they had been united, and animated and impelled by religious fanaticism, but their attachment to the ancient religion appears to have been lukewarm and precarious: they set at nought some of its most sacred laws and injunctions, and could never be considered as pure champions of the faith. Some of their leaders gave proof of very extraordinary abilities, yet their talents began and ended in craft and cunning: they never reached the heights of political wisdom or military genius. They made of Poona, their capital, a spacious and very populous city, which was enriched by the residence of the chiefs and the plunder they brought in, but nearly every other town subjected to their dominion or open to their incursions declined rapidly, while not a few of them entirely disappeared. Throughout the East everything depends on the personal character and talents of the ruler. Among the Mahratta princes it seldom happened that an energetic prince had a successor of the same stamp. The nation, if such it could be called, often lost under the son what had been gained under the father, and saw a court rent by factions and a government without any consistent plan. Our European enemies, however, were not slow in opening diplomatic communications with Poona, and the French at one time hoped to expel the English by means

of the Mahrattas. Several Frenchmen, who lived in camp and followed the marauding cavalry to the field, fully confirm the accounts given by Forbes and other Englishmen of the destructive, gross barbarism, and detestable cruelty of these hordes. The French officers, who at subsequent periods joined the Mahratta army and attempted to direct its movements in the field, were disgusted by its indiscipline, and by the habits both of the chief officers and common troopers; but these able men clearly saw what devastations the Mahrattas might commit in the country, and they gave them several lessons in war, which in the course of the prolonged contest were felt rather severely by the English.

Hyder Ali had some cause to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the English, who had neglected to fulfil several articles of the treaty concluded at the end of the last war, by which they had engaged to aid him in defending his dominions from the Mahrattas; a promise to which they had paid no attention; and he had, in consequence, been several times exposed to great difficulties and dangers from the invasions of that people. He resolved therefore to renew the war as soon as he was in a condition to do so; and in the month of June, 1780, departed from his capital, Seringapatam, to join his army assembled on the frontiers, which exhibited the finest show of native troops ever seen in the south of India, amounting to more than eighty thousand men, and provided with above one hundred pieces of cannon. At the head of this host he entered the Carnatic, and marched direct towards Madras, where his approach was first announced by columns of smoke and flame, that were seen ascending from the burning villages. The English were in the utmost consternation, for it was impossible for them to bring their troops together, which were dispersed over the country in small detachments, and the principal roads were occupied by the enemy. Two divisions, however, succeeded, though with great difficulty, in joining each other, and when united, formed a little army of between three and four thousand men, Europeans and Sepoys; but these were furiously attacked by the Mysoreans, and all cut to pieces, with the exception of about two hundred, who were made prisoners, and conveyed to Seringapatam, where they were thrown into dungeons, in chains, and scarcely allowed sufficient of the coarsest food to keep them alive.

On our part many errors were committed in this war, which,

however, did not terminate without due chastisement and humiliation to the enemy. While these events were passing in Western India, other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges, from Agra and Delhi, and plundered the more northern parts of the dominions of our ally or dependent, the Nabob of Oude; and there was a rumour of a grand coalition between the Grand Mogul, the Mahrattas, the Siks, the Rohillas, and other Affghan tribes, for the purpose of conquering the whole of Oude, and pressing downward upon Bengal, Calcutta, and the sea. Far more than by our arms, it was by the genius and political combinations of Warren Hastings that these and similar designs were frustrated. It was this one great and foully persecuted man that secured and extended the empire whose foundations had been laid by the illustrious Clive, to whom a party in the British parliament had been equally ungrateful.

Hyder was a barbarian in warfare. A terrible instance of his cruelty was exhibited during the invasion of Calicut, when he offered a reward of five rupees for every human head that should be brought to him, and sat in state to receive, and pay for, the dreadful trophies, of which, it is said, above seven hundred were presented to the merciless conqueror without exciting in him the least signs of remorse, till a soldier appeared, bearing two heads so remarkably beautiful, that he was touched with pity, and gave orders to stop the massacre.

After the defeat of the British troops, Hyder laid siege to the city of Arcot, which was surrendered; and he then invested several of the strongest towns in the Carnatic. Arcot was still considered the capital of the Nabob, Mohammed Ali, whose sovereignty continued to be acknowledged by the presidency of Madras, which was now subordinate to that of Bengal. In the latter presidency the British government was supreme, and all the civil officers of the interior were appointed by the Governor-General, who resided at Calcutta; consequently, that city had become the capital of the British dominions in India. Warren Hastings, who was then Governor-General, on hearing of the successes of Hyder Ali, sent Sir Eyre Coote, a veteran officer of the highest military reputation, to stop the career of the invaders, whose ravages had converted the country into a desert; so that when the British forces marched from Madras under the conduct of General Coote, they were obliged to carry with them all kinds of sup-

plies, as though they were about to cross the deserts of Arabia, instead of marching through an inhabited country. The expedition was, on the whole, successful. Hyder Ali, and his warlike son, were forced to abandon the places they were besieging, and at length sustained a total defeat at Cuddalore, where the two armies came to a regular engagement.

About this time, Lord Macartney, whose name is known in the history of China as ambassador to the court of the Emperor Kien-long, having been appointed governor of Madras, arrived in India, bringing news of a war between England and Holland. In consequence of this intelligence, the English made an immediate attack on the Dutch settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and the important station of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, which were in turn surrendered to the assailants; and the Dutch were thus expelled from every possession which they had held in Continental India.

The war with Hyder Ali, who had received aid from the French, was still prosecuted, with varied fortune, until his death, which happened in the year 1782, he being then above eighty years of age. Although an usurper, he had not been an oppressive ruler. He had not interfered with the customs of the Hindūs; he had left the Bramins in possession of their lands; and the revenues which he had exacted from the farmers were so light, as to leave them the means of living in comfort. During his wars in the Carnatic, Hyder made captive great numbers of the lowest class of field labourers, many of whom were slaves, and formed them into colonies in the most uncultivated districts of his dominions, where lands were assigned them, and orders given by that judicious prince, that they should not be called by the name that marked them as men of inferior caste, but that they should be termed cultivators.

Hyder Ali founded the city and fortress of Bangalore, which in his time, was a place of great importance, on account of its numerous manufactures and its trade with the neighbouring states; but in the reign of Tippoo, who did not rule with the moderation of his predecessor, the inhabitants of Bangalore suffered greatly, in consequence of being prohibited from trading with Arcot and Hyderabad, the capitals of the Carnatic, and the dominions of the Nizam, that being the title by which the Soubahdar of the Deccan was then generally distinguished.

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TIPPOO SAIB.

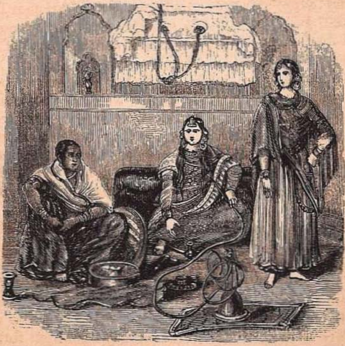
YDER ALI was succeeded by his son, Tippoo, a prince equal to his father in ambition and military talent, but far inferior in policy, and a violent persecutor both of the Hindūs and of the Christian natives, who were numerous in all those parts of India where the Portuguese had held settlements, owing chiefly to the exertions of the Jesuits, who had spread the Christian faith to a considerable extent among the villagers on the coast of Malabar.

Tippoo was in fact, what his father had never been, a fanatical Mussulman; and he started with the determination that the ancient faith of the country should be extirpated, and the Koran established by the sword. His intolerance was soon found to be a source of dissension, weakness, and decline. Even in the dominions which his father had transmitted to him the Hindūs were far more numerous than the Mussulmans.

For some time after his accession to the throne of Mysore, Tippoo maintained the war against the English, till the news of a peace between Great Britain and France occasioned the secession of his French allies, and led to a treaty with the British, concluded in March, 1784, by which all conquests were to be mutually restored, and the Indian prince was to set at liberty all the prisoners confined in the different fortresses of Mysore.

Tippoo Saib was now the most powerful prince in all India. He assumed the title of Padishah, which had hitherto been

only used by the Emperor, as it signified supreme ruler; and, from that time his name was substituted for that of Shah Alum in the public prayers; and thus even the nominal supremacy of the Mogul Sovereign, which had, till then, been acknowledged in Mysore, was entirely set aside, and Tippoo was called Sultan. His capital was Seringapatam, situated on an island formed by the river Cavery, which is there a broad and rapid stream. The island is about three miles in length, rocky and barren, and was probably chosen by Hyder for his chief residence on account of its insular advantages, and the ease with which it might be fortified. The famous fort of Sri Ranga was built by Tippoo, and contained his chief palace, a large edifice, enclosed by a high wall. His apartments were on one side of a large square, from which a private passage, strictly guarded, led to the Zenana, or part of the palace appropriated to the ladies, who were carefully concealed from all eyes, save those of their royal master. Many



The Zenana.

of these were the daughters of Bramins and native princes, who had been made captives in infancy, and brought up in the

Mohammedan religion, ignorant of their parentage, and of the world beyond the walls which surrounded them. The Sultan had two other palaces, with fine gardens, on the island. One of them was situated at the extremity, opposite to Sri Ranga, and was an extremely elegant building, near which stood the mausoleum of his father.

In the old palace of Seringapatam resided the family of the late Raja of Mysore, who had been deposed by Hyder Ali. That prince had left no children, but had adopted as his son a young relative, who had been brought up under the care of his widow, both being strictly confined to the palace, which was suffered to fall into a very ruinous condition. Tippoo was so anxious to destroy every vestige of the old government, that he pulled down the palace and temples of Mysore, the ancient capital, and removed the stones to a neighbouring height, where he commenced building a fortress, which was never finished. One of the great faults of this prince seems to have been the inconsiderate manner in which he undertook great and expensive works, without the means or leisure to complete them; yet the peasants were compelled to labour at such profitless employment, to the detriment of themselves and their families. On the whole, however, the dominions of the Sultan are said to have been tolerably governed, highly cultivated, and in the enjoyment of a great degree of prosperity.

This state of things had been brought about by the father, who in all respects was a wiser ruler than the son. Indeed, at one time it was quite a fashion with certain English writers to extol old Hyder Ali as a most wise, enlightened, and beneficent prince. It has been asked, whether these English eulogists would have liked to be finance ministers to that Mysorean Sultan, who managed the treasury department with whip and lash. The honest missionary Schwarten, who lived some time at his court, said of him: "He is served through fear: two hundred people, with whips in their hands, stand always ready for duty; not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike—gentlemen and horse-keepers, tax-gatherers, and his own sons. It will hardly be believed what punishments are daily inflicted on the collectors. One of them was tied up, and two men came with their whips and cut him

dreadfully; with sharp nails they tore his flesh asunder, and then scourged him afresh; his shrieks rent the air." One day an English officer, then a prisoner, saw a great crowd of country people driven towards the palace by men carrying whips in their hands; upon asking what this meant, he was told that the Sultan wanted to make a little money, that was all. But as old Hyder was impartial in the distribution of these favours, as he did not interfere with the religious belief, or practices and ceremonies of the people, and as he protected them from the plundering, devastating Mahrattas, he was, on the whole, rather a popular ruler. Such were then the vices of all these Asiatic governments, that it may be doubted whether, with the exception of those portions which were absolutely under the direct government of our East India Company, there was any part of India better governed than was Mysore under Hyder Ali. The robber chiefs whom he had converted into state officers and governors of towns and districts, were not found to be worse than the generality of native functionaries, while some of them were highly extolled for the hospitality they exercised in their castles and hill fortresses. Hyder was an unlettered man, but it may be doubted whether his ignorance of books was half so ridiculous or so mischievous as his son's pedantry and literary and scientific conceit. Tippoo took upon himself the duties or character of a political reformer and philosophical statesman; and in his eagerness for innovation, he interfered with the established and ancient usages of the country and threw every thing into confusion. Laws, coinage, chronology, all must be changed under him. He adopted as the emblem of his state, and as a species of armorial bearing, the figure of the tiger, whose head and stripes constituted the chief ornaments of his throne, and of almost every article which belonged to him. "This throne was of considerable beauty and magnificence. The support was a wooden tiger, as large as life, covered with gold, in the attitude of standing. His head and fore legs appeared in front and under the throne, which was placed across his back. It was composed of an octagonal frame, eight feet by five, surrounded by a low railing, on which were ten small tiger heads made of gold, beautifully inlaid with precious stones. The ascent to the throne was by small silver steps on each side. From the centre of the back part, opposite the large

tiger's head, rose a gilded iron pillow, seven feet high, surmounted by a canopy superbly decorated with a fringe of pearls. The whole was made of wood, covered with a thin sheet of the purest gold, richly illuminated with tiger stripes and Arabic verses. The huma was placed at the top of the canopy, and fluttered over the Sultan's head. This bird, the most beautiful and magnificent ornament of the throne, was sent (after the capture of Seringapatam) by the Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors. It was about the size and shape of a small pigeon, and intended to represent the fabulous bird of antiquity, well known to all Persian scholars —a bird peculiar to the East, supposed to fly constantly in the air, and never to touch the ground. It is looked upon as a bird of happy omen, and it is said that every head it overshades will in time wear a crown. The tail of the huma on Tippoo's throne, and its wings, were in the attitude of fluttering. The bird was formed of gold, entirely covered with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds."* Seringapatam contained the Grand Military Arsenal, wherein cannon were cast, and all kinds of arms, as well in the European as in the Oriental fashion, were manufactured. Most of the guns cast during the reign of Tippoo were ornamented with the representation of a tiger devouring an Englishman. The Sultan's thoughts were constantly bent on war, revenge, and military preparations. He was often heard to say that he would rather live two days like a tiger than two hundred years like a sheep. The reader will remember that the word Tippoo, being translated, signifies tiger.

The people of Mysore were divided into no less than twenty-seven castes, as every trade was kept distinct, and its members were obliged to observe certain rules, especially as regarded intermarriages, and the manner in which food was to be cooked and eaten. Each caste was distinguished, according to the custom of the Hindūs, by a particular mark on the forehead, made with white clay; so that the laws might not be so liable to transgression through any mistake of the person; and every class had its chief, whose office was hereditary, and whose duty it was to punish those who did transgress, by expelling them from the society to which they had belonged; a terrible sentence in ancient times, but not so much

* Forbes.

regarded at the present time, when the payment of a small fine can generally obtain pardon for the culprit.

The trades and manufactures were numerous in all the large towns of Mysore, and weekly fairs were held, which the neighbouring farmers usually attended, to sell their produce. The trade of some of the cities, however, was depressed by the bad policy of the Sultan, who filled his warehouses with large stores of goods, which he obliged the merchants to take at enormous prices, and, at the same time, prohibited all commercial intercourse with the states governed by the English, or in alliance with them. His high pretensions, and encroachments on the territories of his neighbours gave rise to a powerful league against him, formed by the Mahrattas and the Nizam, who, in 1786, advanced towards the Toombuddra, the chief barrier between them and the Sultan's dominions.

In the meanwhile, Shah Alum had remained on the throne at Delhi, where he had been supported, amid the factions that agitated the court, by Sindia, the great Mahratta chief, to whom he had given the command of the Imperial army, and the entire government of the provinces of Delhi and Agra; so that what remained of the sovereign authority was, in reality, exercised by Sindia, who had previously extended his power and possessions by conquests over the princes of Rajputana. The Mahrattas might, therefore, be said to have been masters of the empire at the time of the confederacy against Tippoo, who was not slow to meet the combined armies on his frontiers; but although he gained some advantages, he was the first to propose terms of peace, and even agreed to restore some conquests that he had made, having, it is supposed, reason to suspect that the English were about to join the enemy.

About this time there arose a formidable insurrection against Sindia and the imperial government of Hindostan, headed by a Mohammedan noble, named Ismael Beg, and Gholam Kawdir, a Rohilla chief, who gained possession of Delhi, drove out the Mahratta garrison, plundered the palace, and having dethroned the Emperor, and treated his family, wives, sons, and daughters, with the greatest indignity, the ruffian chief put out the eyes of the unhappy monarch with his dagger, an act of barbarity that so shocked his ally, Ismael

Beg, that he withdrew his troops, and joined the Mahratta army that was approaching to the relief of the capital. Gholam Kawdir, who had fled from Delhi, was pursued, overtaken, and put to death, by order of Sindia, who replaced the now sightless Shah Alum on his throne with great pomp, but annexed the provinces of Delhi and Agra, with the greater part of the Doab, to his own dominions.

This immense accession of power to a sovereign chief, already so powerful, could not be viewed with indifference by the English; but their attention was more immediately called to the proceedings of Tippoo, who recommenced hostilities by the invasion of Travancore, a small independent state, forming the western part of the southern extremity of India, the Raja of which was a faithful ally of the British government. This little kingdom was defended by a barrier-wall and moat, extending along the whole length of its frontiers, and, in one part, intervening between the territories of the Sultan and the state of Cochin, which he had made tributary by conquest. It was on account of its vicinity that Tippoo was desirous of gaining possession of Travancore; and he made it a ground of complaint, that the Raja's wall obstructed his free passage into his vassal kingdom of Cochin, and also that the prince had afforded refuge to the Nairs, or nobles of Malabar, who had fled to his territories. This they had done for the sake of protection against the Sultan, who was notorious for his barbarous treatment of the conquered Hindūs, unless they consented to abandon the worship of their idols for the Mussulman faith. He made a boast of the numerous temples he had destroyed; and he imprisoned great numbers of the refractory natives in different fortresses. On one occasion, it is said that two thousand Bramins drowned themselves, to escape the cruel persecution with which they were threatened; and many families fled from their houses to seek shelter in the forests among the mountains.

Among the many acts of cruelty committed by Tippoo Saib, may be mentioned that which he practised on the merchants of Calicut, from whom he exacted a heavy tribute, much greater than they could pay; and in default of their compliance with his demand, he caused them to be torn from their families and chained to a barren rock, in sight of their homes, where they were left to perish.

The first attack on Travancore was repulsed with great loss to the Sultan, who escaped himself, with great difficulty, on foot, among a crowd of fugitive soldiers; but a second attempt was more successful, the barrier wall was demolished, and the whole country overrun and laid waste by the Mysorean army, who made vast numbers of the unhappy natives prisoners and carried them away into captivity. The English sent assistance to the Raja, and entered into an alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, for the purpose of lessening the power of Tippoo Saib. The war was commenced by the English, who, during the first campaign, recovered the whole province of Malabar from the Sultan, whose troops were driven from every fortress they had held.

The liberated Hindūs now made the Mysoreans feel that the hour of retribution had come. They had many wrongs and cruel injuries to avenge; but that for which they took the cruellest vengeance was the profanation of their temples. They massacred, or put to death by slow fire and other tortures, the men (or such of them as they could catch) who had been the most furious of the image-breakers, or most active in destroying their temples and pagodas. A chieftainess, who had ordered and seen executed some terrible executions of this kind, excused herself to an English officer who censured her measures, by passionately declaring that she had herself seen the impious monsters burn the temple in which her forefathers had worshipped, and cast out and break to pieces the images of the gods which had been revered from the remotest antiquity. It is to be noted as a most singular fact, and as an anomaly in Oriental history and usage, that all along this Malabar coast, women succeeded to chieftainships and principalities by hereditary right, and a decided preference was given to the rule of females. In the rest of Asia, such a regimen was regarded as an abomination or an impracticability; and in civilized Europe, the Salic law, or that section of it which popularly goes by the name, excluded females from most thrones; yet here, in Malabar, ladies ruled and reigned with the greatest credit, and the people always considered themselves most favoured, happy, and secure, when the sceptre was wielded by a woman.

The treaty between the allies stipulated, that all conquests should be equally shared, and that those Zemindars who were

formerly dependent on the Peishwa or the Nizam, should be restored to their several territories, on paying a sum of money, to be divided among the confederates; after which payment, the Zemindars were to be tributary to their respective princes, as before.

Early in the year 1791, Lord Cornwallis, now Governor-General, took the command of an expedition into the kingdom of Mysore, and laid siege to the strong fortress of Bangalore, built by Hyder Ali. It contained a handsome palace, with extensive gardens, laid out in a rather formal manner, with straight walks dividing the grounds into square plots, each plot being filled with one particular kind of tree or plant, and the sides of the walks bordered with cypress trees. The rest of the buildings within the fort were chiefly huts for the accommodation of the garrison, and magazines for military stores.

The first care of the Sultan, on the approach of the invaders, was to send off all the ladies of his harem, (in all, they are said to have exceeded the number of one thousand,) under a strong escort, to Seringapatam; and the time he lost in making arrangements for their safe removal, afforded the British army an opportunity of taking up an advantageous position close to the walls of Bangalore. The town was stormed and taken, after a desperate conflict in the streets with the Sultan's troops, who were eventually driven out with frightful bloodshed; and this victory was immediately followed by the capture of the fortress. Tippoo was not personally engaged in these actions; he was hastening to the relief of the fort when met by a crowd of fugitives, who announced its fall, with that of the city, to the dismayed monarch, who retreated towards his capital to provide for its defence. Thither he was followed by the English, who, however, suffered much distress from want of supplies; for he had made a complete desert of the country through which they had to pass, by driving away the inhabitants, and burning the villages; so that neither grain nor cattle could be procured; and by the time the allied army had reached Seringapatam, it was in a very exhausted condition. Notwithstanding, a battle was fought on the banks of the Cavery, the result of which was decidedly favourable to the English; but the troops were so weakened by want of food, that Lord Cornwallis was

obliged to give up his intention of besieging Tippoo in his capital, and he returned to Bangalore.

In this expedition he had been joined by the troops of the Nizam, a predatory host, who, under no sort of control, traversed the country in search of plunder, on horses as uncouth in appearance as themselves. Each man was armed, equipped, and mounted, according to his own fancy; and they were so entirely undisciplined, that they were of no use whatever to the British commander, who would rather have been without such unruly auxiliaries. In his retreat, however, he was met by a large division of the Mahratta army, under the command of two celebrated chiefs, Hurry Punt and Purseram Bhow, whose appearance was hailed with joy, as their ample stores afforded a seasonable relief to the famished soldiers.

With the aid of this powerful reinforcement, Lord Cornwallis captured some of the droogs, or hill fortresses, on which the Indian princes were accustomed to place their chief dependence for defence against their enemies; and among those which were taken were Nundidroog, Ootradroog, and Savendroog, the name of the last signifying the Rock of Death, from its difficult ascent, being almost perpendicular, and above half a mile in height, surrounded for several miles by a forest, or jungle, so thick as to be scarcely penetrable. Every accessible part of the mountain was guarded by walls and massive gateways, and on the summit were erected two citadels, with a wide chasm between them, which greatly increased the danger to the assailants.

After these exploits, Lord Cornwallis advanced again towards Seringapatam, expecting to be joined by General Abercrombie, who had been actively engaged, for above a year, in Malabar and the adjoining districts. Tippoo was encamped with his whole army, in front of the capital, his position being strengthened by numerous fortifications, when the enemy appeared on a range of heights before him. Trusting to his strong encampment, he was unprepared for immediate action, thinking that the English would not venture an attack; but as the British commander was of opinion that prompt measures were requisite, he resolved to come to an engagement without delay, and to commence by surprising the camp under cover of the night. The event answered his expectations; for the suddenness of the attack occasioned such

confusion, that great numbers of the Sultan's troops fled in dismay, crossing the river into the island, whither Tippoo also betook himself for safety, while many took advantage of the panic to desert the army and return to their homes. The battle was renewed at daybreak and lasted till evening, when the Sultan, who had been losing ground every hour, was obliged to withdraw within the walls of the city.

Among the deserters were several thousand men who had been forcibly enlisted in the territory of Coorg, a small state bounded by the Ghauts, through which lay the direct road into Malabar. It is a wild, woody country, famous for the number of elephants found in its forests, and was first annexed to the kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali, who exacted tribute from the Raja. Soon after the accession of Tippoo, the people of Coorg made an attempt to recover their independence, when the Sultan marched into their country with a large force, and treated the inhabitants with such barbarity, that his name was held in detestation by them; and, therefore, it was not surprising that the soldiers of Coorg should forsake his standard on the first opportunity.

The desire to return to their native villages was, perhaps, more ardently felt, on account of a happy change that had taken place in the country. While Tippoo was engaged in warfare, the captive Raja of Coorg had contrived to make his escape from the fort in which he was confined, and reached a forest in his own dominions, where he was joyfully received by a band of freebooters, who had maintained themselves in the woods by robbery, rather than submit to the new government. By the aid of these men, the prince made known his return to numbers of his subjects who were also living in exile; and he was soon at the head of an army sufficiently strong to drive the Mussulman garrisons from the forts, and clear his territories from those detested enemies. Being once more in possession of his own dominions, he was glad to obtain the friendship and alliance of General Abercrombie, who was thus enabled to pass through Coorg peacefully with his army to join Lord Cornwallis, whose camp he reached a few days after the battle of Seringapatam.

Tippoo was now so fully sensible of his danger, that he opened a negociation with the English, in the conviction that he should be obliged to make peace with them on their own

terms. The conditions they offered were, that he should cede one half of his dominions to the allies, that is, to the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and the English, who should be privileged to take the portion nearest to their respective territories; that he should pay down a sum equivalent to four millions sterling; and that he should send his two sons as hostages to the British camp. The haughty Sultan assembled his chief officers in the great mosque, and read these proposals to them, when they all agreed that his best course was to secure peace, even on these hard terms; and the treaty was signed accordingly, in February 1792.

The parting with the two young princes was a severe trial to the whole of the royal family. The youths rode forth dressed in white muslin robes, wearing round their necks several strings of large pearls, mixed with jewels, and mounted on elephants richly caparisoned. The walls were crowded with spectators to witness their departure, and Tippoo himself stood with his people, to take a farewell look of the beloved children whom he was compelled to confide to the care of his enemies, uncertain what sort of treatment they might experience. The chief Vakeel, who accompanied them, was instructed to take them direct to the tent of Lord Cornwallis, and, in delivering them into the hands of that nobleman, to recommend them to his paternal care. They were received with the utmost kindness, and created a great degree of interest by the graceful dignity of their demeanour, in which were blended the politeness and reserve that distinguished the manners of Oriental courts. They remained about two years in the English camp, when, all the conditions of the treaty having been fulfilled, they were sent back to their father.

In consequence of this peace, the Mahratta territories were extended to the Toombuddra rivers; the dominions of the Nizam were enlarged southward to the Pennar; and the English added to their possessions several detached portions of the ceded districts, including a considerable part of the Malabar coast, by which they acquired the once powerful state of Calicut. The cession of Coorg was also demanded, and obtained, after a violent opposition on the part of the Sultan, who was only brought to comply by the fear of seeing his children sent off as prisoners into the Carnatic, and the

war renewed. He was thus disappointed of the revenge he would have taken on the Raja and people of Coorg, who were now safe under the protection of the English.

About this time, died Sindia, who left his extensive realms to his grand-nephew, Doulat Rao Sindia, a youth only fifteen years of age.

The Mahrattas were not at this period such as they were in the days of Sevajee; but they were still a military people. Some members of every peasant's family were soldiers; and in many of the villages, a fourth part of the inhabitants were men trained to arms, who were always ready to serve when occasion required; and such an occasion presented itself during the few years of peace with Tippoo, when a dispute arose between the governments of Poona and Hyderabad, which caused a declaration of war; and thus the two potentates, Nizam Ali and Madoo Narrain Rao, so lately friends and allies, took the field as enemies. The troops of the Nizam made so sure of success, that they were constantly heard to boast how they would plunder and burn down the city of Poona; and the minister declared in a public assembly, that he would banish the Peishwa to Benares; while the dancing-girls in all the temples daily celebrated the triumph of the army in their songs. But the result was very different from that which had been expected, for the Mahrattas gained so decided a victory in a pitched battle fought at Kurdla, on the Mahratta frontiers, that the Nizam, who commanded in person, was obliged to take shelter in a small fort, where he was soon surrounded by the enemy, so that he had no chance of escape, except by agreeing to the terms proposed by the victors; who, as usual, exacted, besides money, a large cession of territory, comprising, among other valuable acquisitions, the fort of Dowlatabad.

The Peishwa, who, it may be remembered, was the son of the murdered Narrain, was yet scarcely twenty-one years of age, and had always been kept under strict control by the chief minister, a Bramin, somewhat advanced in years, named Nana Furnuwees, whose ambition was to keep all the authority in his own hands. The family of Ragoba had been in confinement ever since the death of that celebrated personage; and when the war broke out with Nizam Ali, the two sons of Ragoba, Bajee Rao and Chimnajee Appo, were sent to the

hill fort of Sewneree, where, even after the close of the war, they remained in captivity.

The melancholy fate of these young men excited the deepest sympathy. Bajee Rao, in particular, was greatly beloved by all who knew him, being liberally gifted by nature with those attractive qualities that are sure to make friends. In him were combined a graceful person, handsome countenance, gentle manners, and the most winning address, with mental accomplishments rarely found in a Mahratta, while he also excelled in the bodily exercises which are held by that nation in so much esteem. The young Peishwa, who was too high-minded to feel jealous of the praises he often heard lavished on his cousin, was anxious to procure his release and make him his companion; but this desire was opposed by the wily minister, who was not, like his master, free from jealousy. It happened, however, that Bajee Rao became acquainted with the Peishwa's friendly disposition towards him; on which he commenced a clandestine correspondence, which had all the charms of romance for both the young men, whose mutual attachment was strengthened by the opposition of Nana, who, at length, discovered their secret intercourse, to which he immediately put a stop by the most vigorous measures. The friend who had been the bearer of their letters and messages was imprisoned; the Peishwa was compelled to submit to the bitterest reproaches, and Bajee Rao was more closely watched and guarded than before.

The effect of this harshness on the mind of Madoo Rao led to a catastrophe that could scarcely have been contemplated. For several days he shut himself up in a private apartment, refusing to take his accustomed seat in the Durbar, or attend to any public business; and was with difficulty persuaded to bear his part in a religious festival, at which he was expected to appear in procession with his troops, and to receive the chiefs and ambassadors at court. These ceremonies were evidently irksome to the unhappy prince, who, two days afterwards, threw himself from a high terrace of his palace, and died from the wounds he had received in the fall. His last wish was that Bajee Rao should succeed him; but Nana Furnuwees, naturally dreading the elevation of a prince whom he had treated so harshly, called together an assembly of the great chiefs, and proposed that Yessooda Bye, the youthful

widow of the late Peishwa, who was yet but a mere child, should be considered head of the state until some boy should be selected by the council for her adoption. One of the ministers who attended on the part of the young chief, Sindia, objected to this arrangement; but his judgment was overruled, and the plan acted upon. Bajee Rao, who was informed of all these proceedings, then contrived to open a correspondence with Sindia, and to engage him in his cause.

The minister was now so much alarmed at the prospect of Sindia's enmity, that he thought it would be even safer for himself to release Bajee, and acknowledge him as Peishwa, trusting, by submission, to induce him to forget all that had passed. The event answered his expectation; but Sindia and his minister, offended that Bajee Rao should have availed himself of other means than those which they had offered, to enable him to obtain possession of his dignity, determined to revenge themselves for the slight, by siding with the other party. With this view, Bajee was induced, by some artifice, to visit Sindia's camp, where he was detained as a prisoner, whilst his brother, Chimnajee, was, against his will, formally invested with the dignity of Peishwa; but Bajee Rao soon contrived, by his insinuating address, to win back the favour of the young chief, and was restored in a few months; this took place at the close of the year 1796.

One of his first acts was to get rid of the prime minister, Nana Furnuwees, who was treacherously seized, in returning from a visit of ceremony to the Peishwa, and carried away in custody, with several other persons of distinction who had accompanied him, whilst some of their attendants were killed, and the rest dispersed. This outrage produced a violent tumult at Poona, where all the ministers of Nana's party were arrested and confined in the palace, while their adherents mustered in a body, and fought with the soldiers who were sent to seize all property in the houses of the prisoners. Much blood was shed on this occasion, but the Peishwa's faction triumphed, and Nana was sent to the fort of Ahmednagur.

Soon after this, a still more dreadful scene occurred at Poona. Sindia had recently married the daughter of a chief named Ghatgay, and had bestowed upon him the high office of Dewan, or collector of the revenues. Ghatgay had made some objections to the match, because he held his own family

more noble than that of his proposed son-in-law, but he had at length consented, on certain conditions, one of which was that he should be made Dewan; and, accordingly, the marriage was solemnized with great splendour. The procession on such occasions, with the superb presents made to the guests, involved Sindia in expenses so enormous, that he was afterwards distressed for money to pay his troops, and applied to Bajee Rao for a certain sum he had agreed to pay on his restoration. The Peishwa replied, that he had not the money, but that Sindia was at liberty to levy contributions, to the amount required, on the rich inhabitants of Poona; and the chief, accordingly, sent his Dewan for that purpose. It is believed that Bajee Rao, in giving this permission, had no forethought of the cruelties to which it might probably lead; and as he was absent from the capital, he was not aware of the consequences until it was too late to prevent them.

Ghatgay, whose name is still mentioned with horror by the people of Poona, began to execute his mission by inflicting tortures on the imprisoned ex-ministers, until they gave up a vast amount of property which they had concealed in different places; and when this had been seized, the rich merchants and bankers were forced, by similar barbarity, to contribute vast sums towards the payment of the debt contracted by the Peishwa, who cannot be exonerated from the charge of flagrant injustice, in allowing Sindia to levy the contributions, however guiltless he may have been of the inhuman proceedings of the Dewan, who invented a new mode of torture, by tying his victims on a heated gun, until the required sum had been extorted from them. One of the nobles, a relative of Nana Furnuwees, expired under this dreadful treatment, rather than submit to the extortion; and several others were so injured, that they never recovered from the effects of the Dewan's cruelty.

In the meanwhile, the great Revolution had taken place in France, and Tippoo Saib was holding a correspondence with the Directors of the French Republic, with a view of obtaining efficient aid to enable him to expel the English from India, succeeding in which, he and the French were to divide the whole country between them; but instead of the large force he expected, a few men, not exceeding one hundred, were sent from the Mauritius; and, as much publicity had been given to

Tippoo's proceedings, the British government judged it necessary to renew the war. The Marquis Wellesley, then Governor of India, made immediate preparations for that purpose, and a new treaty was concluded with the Nizam, who agreed to dismiss a number of French troops in his service, and to receive in their stead six battalions of English sepoys, who, with the rest of the troops furnished by him for the approaching war, were placed under the command of the late Duke of Wellington, then Colonel Sir Arthur Wellesley. The Mahrattas were bound, as well as the Nizam, by the terms of their former treaty with the English, to aid them in all wars with the Sultan of Mysore; but Bajee Rao, who had proved but a weak ruler, was persuaded by Sindia to wait till he saw which side would be likely to be successful; therefore no assistance was rendered from that quarter.

The war was not of long duration. After two or three indecisive actions, the British forces were once more encamped before Seringapatam. Tippoo, who was unprepared for the sudden movement that had brought the enemy so soon to the walls of his capital, and was fully impressed with the conviction that it must inevitably fall, called his chief officers around him, and asked them what they had resolved to do in this emergency. "To die with you!" was the unanimous reply of these brave men, who were destined to fulfil their promise to the very letter; for there were few who survived the dreadful day that witnessed the fall of their sovereign.

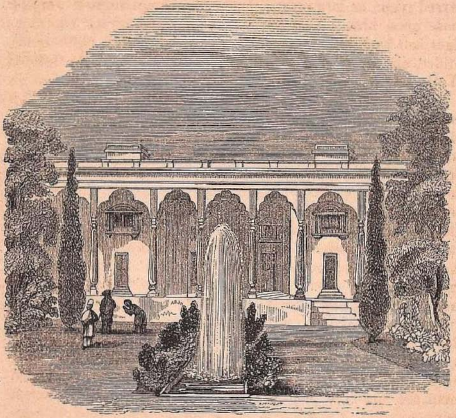
The town was closely besieged for the space of one month, when, on the fourth of May 1799, the final attack was made that completed the conquest of Mysore, and terminated the career of Tippoo Saib. General Baird, who conducted the assault, had, during the former war with the Sultan, suffered a long imprisonment in the gloomy dungeons of the Sri Ranga, the walls of which he now mounted as a conqueror. Tippoo fell in the thickest of the fight, wounded by three musket balls. His sabre was still grasped in his hands, when a soldier attempted to take off his richly-embroidered sword belt, on which the dying Sultan made an effort to lift the weapon he held, and wounded the soldier, who instantly shot him through the head, not knowing who he was; and it was not till some hours afterwards that his body was found and recognised.

In the mean time, strict search had been made for him in

the palace, where his two elder sons were found in a private apartment, seated on a carpet, surrounded by numerous attendants. They were not then aware of the death of their father, and were, with some difficulty, persuaded to order that the gates of the palace should be thrown open to the victors. The unfortunate princes were then led forth as captives, yet with the respectful sympathy which their rank and misfortunes excited, and were conducted into the presence of General Baird, who endeavoured, by the kindest assurances, to relieve them from, at least, the dread of personal danger.

If the son of Hyder Ali displayed the courage of despair in his last moments, he certainly, during the siege, gave proof neither of valour nor of wisdom. Instead of being constantly among his soldiers, he shut himself up with a set of fakirs, dervishes, and other charlatan seers, who pretended to be possessed of the gift of seeing into futurity. A French officer (Colonel Chapuis), who had rendered him important services in the field, and who remained with him and faithful to him, repeatedly implored him to quit the capital, to throw himself into the upland country, where he had still a numerous army, and where there existed numerous positions of very great strength. "There," said Chapuis, "you may defend your states step by step, and wear out your enemy, who must soon be in want of provisions, and who cannot keep the field during the rainy season." But Tippoo had no longer any confidence except in the predictions of his fakirs, who promised him the total ruin of the English army by the sole will of the prophet Mahommed, and assured him that there was no need of his co-operation, or of any exertion on his part. "It is written in the book of destiny," said these soothsayers, "that the river Cavery, which surrounds your capital, will rise, all of a sudden, to an unheard-of height, sweep away the besiegers, with all their batteries, guns, stores, and baggage, and drown the unclean infidels in its torrents!"

Tippoo was born in 1749, thirteen years after the entrance of Kouli Khan into Delhi. The dynasty of Hyder Ali, which expired with him, had lasted only thirty-five years. His body was deposited in the tomb of his father, in a grove of cypresses, on the southern side of the island of Seringapatam. The funeral rites are described as having been very magnificent, and he was followed to the grave by a full concourse of



The Lall Bang. Tomb erected by Hyder Ali.

the fanatics or impostors who had promised him an easy and certain victory. During the sack of the town, innumerable articles were appropriated by our soldiers, of which no account was ever rendered; but the booty which was secured in a more regular manner, and fully accounted for, was altogether of immense value. The jewels of the crown alone were estimated at considerably more than one million sterling. The whole of this treasure was, by order of the Governor-General and Council, distributed to the army. Within the fortress were found two founderies, several arsenals, and more than nine hundred pieces of artillery. Everywhere our people discovered evidence of Tippoo's depraved and sanguinary tastes. "His name meant tiger; he called his soldiers his tigers of war; and the tigers of the Indian jungles were his pets, and often his executioners;—for the attendant that offended him, or the prisoner that was brought into his presence, was not unfrequently turned into a

barred room, or large cage, where the savage animals were let loose upon him. Near the door of his treasury an enormous tiger had been found chained. There were other tigers in the edifice, and so numerous as to give some trouble to Colonel Wellesley."*

"The history and character of the son of Hyder were, in a manner, told by the barbarous big toy which was invented for his amusement, which was found in his palace, and which may now be seen in the library of the East India House, Leadenhall Street. This rude automaton is a tiger, killing and about to devour a European, who lies prostrate under the savage beast. In the interior of the tiger there is a rude kind of organ, played upon by turning a handle, like our street hand-organs; and the notes produced are intended to represent the growls of the tiger and the moans of the dying man. By the frequent grinding of the curious, this Mysorean instrument has been sadly deranged and almost worn out. The tiger no longer growls as it used to do, and the man moans but very feebly, as the paw of the beast is alternately placed on his mouth and removed from it. Other toys, indicative of the same tastes, were found in Tippoo's dwelling; and in nearly every ornament the figure of the tiger was repeated. Upon his harem being counted, it was found to contain no fewer than six hundred women!" † No doubt was left as to his having inhumanly murdered the English prisoners who had been taken during the siege. It appeared that these unfortunate captives had been sacrificed at night, in parties of two or three; and that the mode of killing them had been by twisting their heads round their shoulders, and thus breaking their necks. Black as was the deed, it was merciful in comparison with some which he had committed on certain Englishmen and English youths whom he had captured in the preceding war, thirteen years ago; but this story, which infuriated our troops, is so horrible

* They became the subject of a postscript to the first letter written by Colonel Wellesley to his Commander-in-Chief after succeeding Baird in the command within the town and fort:—"There are some tigers here," says the Colonel, "which I wish Meer Alum would send for, or else I must give orders to have them shot, as there is no food for them and nobody to attend them, and they are getting violent."—*Wellington Despatches.*

† Charles Macfarlane, 'Our Indian Empire.'

and revolting, that we cannot venture to do more than hint at it. As Tippoo will always remain a conspicuous name in Indian history, a few words may be said as to his personal appearance. He was low of stature, corpulent, with high shoulders and a short neck; but his feet and hands were remarkably small. Even for his country his complexion was considered rather dark; his eyes were large and prominent, with small arched eyebrows; his nose was aquiline. He had an appearance of dignity, or perhaps of sternness, in his countenance, which distinguished him above the common order of people. When his body was found, his dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, with a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist; a handsome pouch, with a red and green silk belt hung across his shoulder; his head was uncovered, his turban having been lost in the confusion of his fall. He had on his arm a Mahommedan armlet to guard him from evil; but he wore no armlets, or rings, or any other ornament whatever.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The fall of Tippoo Saib placed a large kingdom at the disposal of the Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley, who took in full sovereignty, for the East India Company, the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbetoor, the passes of the Ghauts, and Seringapatam; thus securing the whole sea coast of Southern India, with a free communication across the country. A large tract was assigned to the Nizam adjoining his dominions, and a portion of the conquered states was offered to the Peishwa, on condition that he should allow British troops to be stationed within his territories; but as these terms were rejected, the proffered share was withheld, until circumstances induced Bajee Rao to consent to an arrangement by which his independence was virtually lost.

When the Governor-General had taken possession of all he thought fit to appropriate, it was resolved to form what remained into a native kingdom, and restore the family of the former

Rajas, whose representative was a child not more than six years of age, who was taken to Mysore, and there installed with as much ceremony as the ruined state of the place would allow; for as it was intended to make Seringapatam a British military station, the ancient capital was fixed on as the future seat of government, and the rebuilding of the fort and city, which, as before stated, had been destroyed by Tippoo, was immediately commenced.

The new town of Mysore is much handsomer than that of Seringapatam. It stands on an eminence, and is surrounded by a wall of earth. The streets are regular, and the white houses are interspersed with trees and temples. The fort contains the palace, with the houses of the principal merchants and bankers. A British resident was appointed at the court, for whom a good house was erected on a rising ground near the town; and in this officer was vested the actual government of the state, for the Raja was, in reality, a mere dependent of the British rulers in India.

The princes, and other members of the family of the late Sultan, were removed to Vellore, a town and fort of considerable extent about eighty miles from Madras, where they were maintained in a style befitting their rank, but were not allowed to go beyond the fortress, which was strongly garrisoned with Europeans and Sepoys. Tippoo had been very popular among the military chiefs of Mysore; therefore, it is not surprising that some attempts should have been made to restore his family to the throne. In the year 1806 a formidable mutiny broke out among the native troops at Vellore, when all the Europeans of the garrison were barbarously massacred. More than six hundred of the insurgents were made prisoners, some of whom were shot, others sent to penal settlements, and the rest gradually set at liberty; but this rebellion caused the removal of Tippoo's sons to Calcutta, as there was great reason to believe that, if they had not been personally concerned in it, the ultimate object of the outbreak was that of effecting a revolution in their favour, and of placing the eldest prince on the throne.

About the time of the conquest of Mysore, the Nabob of Surat, who, like many other princes, had established his independence, in consequence of the fall of the Mogul Empire, died; and his successor, whose title was disputed, purchased the support of the English, by surrendering to them

the administration of his dominions, both civil and military, in return for which he received the empty name of sovereign, with a pension for his maintenance. It was under similar circumstances that Tanjore was added, at the same period, to the British dominions, and its Raja to the list of royal pensioners.

The attention of the British government was now directed towards acquiring an ascendancy over the Mahrattas, the only rival power remaining in India. It may be remembered that, when the sovereign authority was first assumed by the Bramin minister, under the title of Peishwa, he bestowed grants of land on many of the chiefs, and that the greatest of these were Sindia and Holkar, between whom the whole province of Malwa was divided. For some time, these chiefs were equal in power; but Sindia, by degrees, obtained a decided superiority, which he preserved until the rise of a chief of the house of Holkar, named Jeswunt Rao, an adventurous leader, who proved a formidable rival to Doulat Rao Sindia, whose villages he frequently plundered in the course of his predatory excursions. Sindia and the Peishwa united their forces to check the inroads of the daring chieftain, and a desperate battle was fought near Poona, in the month of October 1802, when Holkar gained a complete victory, and the Peishwa fled, first to the fort of Singurh, and then to Bassein, leaving the city in the hands of the conqueror.

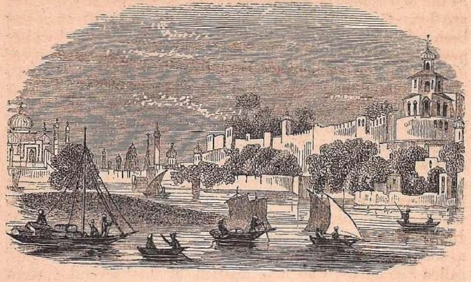
It was in consequence of this event that Bajee Rao was induced to conclude the famous treaty of Bassein, by which he deprived himself of all pretensions to the rank of an independent prince, and gave to the English a decided supremacy in the Mahratta states. A large British force was to be permanently stationed at Poona, and maintained there by the revenues of certain districts ceded for that purpose; and the Peishwa, moreover, bound himself not to engage in hostilities with other states, or to negociate with any other power, without the consent of the British government; and on these conditions he was restored, by the aid of a British army, to his throne.

The dissatisfaction felt by many of the Mahratta chiefs, but more especially by Sindia, at the influence thus obtained by the British nation in the government of the country, led to the war which transferred what may be termed the Empire of India, from the Mahrattas to the English, who became masters

of Delhi, and took once more under their protection the now aged and powerless prince who still bore the title of Emperor. The British commander, General Sir Arthur Wellesley, had vainly endeavoured to come to an amicable arrangement with Sindia, but the hostile feelings of that chief were so manifest, that a declaration of war was inevitable: and two armies were at once employed against him; one in the north, under the command of General Lake, and the other in the south, under General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who gained a complete victory over the Mahrattas, commanded by Sindia in person, on the plains of Assaye, in the month of September 1803. General Lake was equally successful in the north; and he took possession of Delhi, after defeating the enemy within sight of its walls.

The people of Delhi regarded this event as a deliverance rather than a misfortune, for the government of Sindia had by no means been popular. The British general, on entering the once splendid capital of the Moguls, requested an audience of the Emperor, Shah Alum, who received him under a torn and faded canopy, the miserable remnant of former state. The countenance of the aged and sightless monarch was impressed with a deep and settled melancholy, and his whole appearance bore evident tokens of neglect; therefore, he had reason to rejoice in a victory which, though it only restored him to a semblance of power, yet rescued him from the control of those by whom he had been despised and ill-treated, and who had allowed him but a very scanty portion of those comforts by which the infirmities of old age may be alleviated. His condition was now materially improved. He was again surrounded with the semblance of a court; he was treated with the respect due to majesty; the government was conducted in his name; and the form observed of obtaining his sanction for every measure adopted by the new rulers.

The conquest of Delhi was followed by that of Agra; soon after which, a treaty of peace was concluded with Sindia, who ceded the large territory of the Doab, with some provinces beyond the Jumna, and the two cities of Delhi and Agra, with all right of control over the person of the Emperor. He also gave up his maritime districts in Guzerat to the English, and some extensive possessions in the Deccan to the Peishwa and the Nizam. This peace was concluded in 1803; and, by a



Town and Fort of Agra.

subsequent treaty in 1805, he made some farther cessions to the British government; in return for which, he obtained the important fort of Gwalior, which became his residence, and the capital of his dominions.

The influence of British authority was, by this time, extended over the greater part of India, not only by conquest, but by protective treaties with the native rulers, who were glad to purchase security by consenting to maintain a body of British soldiers within their dominions, who were to guard them from foreign aggression, but not to interfere with the internal government. It is, however, obvious that the presence of a military force, superior to his own, must have reduced every prince in whose territory it was stationed to a state of complete subjection.

The next step taken by the East India Company was, to require that certain districts in each protected state should be assigned for the maintenance of the troops; and, at length, the princes were obliged to resign the civil administration, with all the revenues, and to accept from the Company a pension just sufficient to support the pomp of royalty. Among these pensioners were the Emperor himself, the Nabob of Bengal, the Nizam, and the King of Mysore.

The general condition of the people was materially improved

by the new system of government; for, as the revenues of India are derived almost entirely from the land, the cultivators had been subjected to many oppressions that were removed by their new masters. The collection of the revenues has always been, and still is, the principal feature of the government of India; and in making fresh regulations with regard to the assessment of villages, great difficulties arose out of the fact, that it is a doubtful point who are the real proprietors of the soil. The Mogul sovereigns had assumed the lordship of all the lands over which they ruled, so that the Emperor was called Lord of the land in some parts of the country, and the native princes in others; while the ryots, or cultivators, had some claim to the ownership, because they occupied their farms by inheritance, and, according to the ancient laws, could not be ejected as long as they paid the dues. There were also certain lords, called Zemindars, who held districts of their several governments, for which they paid a fixed sum annually, and thus became entitled to the rents of all the villages within their Zemindaries. This system was chiefly prevalent in Bengal, and was not altered in that presidency by the British government; but the Zemindars were restrained from oppressing the ryots by arbitrary exactions, being obliged to fix the rent, and give a bond that it should not afterwards be increased. Much of the landed property in Bengal, however, was transferred to new masters, in consequence of the Zemindars being sometimes unable to keep their contract with the government, in which case the lands were seized and sold.

In the south of India, under the Madras presidency, the ryots are treated as the owners of the lands, and the rents are collected, as in ancient times, by the headman of the village, who transmits them to the chief magistrate of the district, an office usually held by a Bramin, whose duty it is to make a circuit, once every year, to ascertain the state of every district within his jurisdiction. When this officer has received the rents from all the headmen of his district, he sends the amount to the European collector, of whom one is appointed by government to every ten or twelve districts. Under this system, the government takes a certain share of the produce, or its value in money; and the cultivators are protected from oppression, by being allowed an opportunity, once a year, of stating to the chief authority any grievances of which they may have to com-

plain. This is towards the time of harvest, when the native collectors are summoned by the English government to settle their accounts, and give an exact statement of the condition of the villages, the extent of each farm, the value of its stock, and the nature of the crops. The farmers are then assembled, and the accounts read to them, in order that they may correct any mis-statements. If any man thinks that he has been unjustly used, he is at liberty to make his complaint; and when all disputes are settled, each receives his lease for the following year.

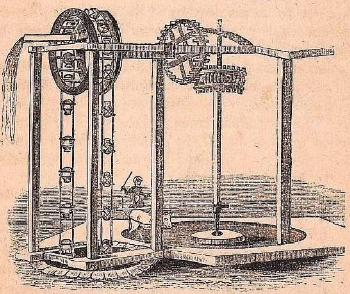
In Bombay, the lands are farmed either to the headman of the village, or to an association of the ryots, who contract with the government for a certain sum annually, and take the chance of profit or loss.

The great mass of the people of India are cultivators, but the mode of agriculture has not yet been much improved; and the implements used in husbandry are of a very primitive construction. Nevertheless, owing to the fertility of the soil, the spontaneous productions of the country are most numerous, and two crops are yielded yearly; one in September and October, the other in March and April.

In most parts of India the soil is so extremely fertile and easy of management, that a simple wooden plough (see page 229) is sufficient to turn up the earth, and render it fit to receive the seed. The plough is drawn by oxen, which are harnessed to the two wooden pegs in front; the husbandman follows to guide it, and holds in one hand the upright pieces of wood intended for that purpose, whilst, with the other, he pours the seed into the mouth of the funnel at the top. The seed runs out through an opening at the lower part of the funnel, and is, by this means, thrown into the furrows made by the ploughshare, which has immediately preceded it.

In Indian cultivation, the greatest attention is requisite in irrigating the soil, the water for which is raised from wells by a simple mill constructed by the natives for that purpose, and is worked by oxen, which walk round a circle, in the same manner as the horse in a common English mill; the ranges of buckets are, by this means, set in motion, and have been so constructed that they turn over when they reach the top, and pour their contents into a trough, by which the water is conveyed to any distance. The buckets then come down empty, in order to be refilled from the well beneath.

Among the numerous and valuable products of Hindostan is the indigo plant, which is cultivated to a great extent in Bengal, where there are from three to four hundred indigo factories, some of which belong to natives, but the greater number to Europeans. The indigo factors are, in general, very wealthy, as the trade has much increased since the revolution in St. Domingo, which used to supply all Europe with that commodity. It is now exported from Bengal, in large quantities, to France, Holland, and Germany.

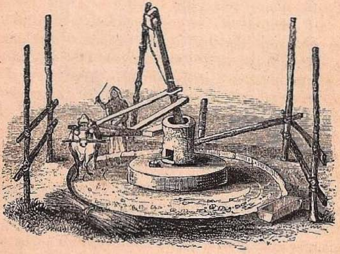


Machine for Drawing Water for Irrigating Land.

Sugar, which is used by the Hindūs in almost every thing they eat or drink, is so generally cultivated, that nearly every village has its little plantation of sugar cane, and a coarse kind of sugar is also extracted from the palmyra and cocoa-nut tree. Sugar is produced in nearly every part of Hindūstan, but that of Bengal is the best, and its manufacture is carried on largely at Benares. Another staple commodity is tobacco, immense quantities of which are required for home consumption, as it is used by all classes of the people. Coffee is raised in Malabar, where the first coffee plantation was established in 1823. Cotton is grown abundantly in all its varieties, the most beautiful being the fruit of a lofty tree, covered first with crimson flowers, which, in falling off, leave a pod filled with cotton of

a lighter and more silky quality than that of the common cotton shrub. The manufacture of cotton goods, however, has greatly declined, in consequence of the introduction of goods from Manchester and Glasgow, which have superseded the native manufactures as clothing for the generality of the people. The chief silk districts are in Bengal, but the silk is inferior to that of China, where more care is bestowed on its culture. It is sold in cocoons by the farmers to the agents of the East India Company, who have large factories for reeling it on the simple Italian principle.

Oil is used in India for many purposes, and is expressed from different kinds of seeds, by a mill of simple construction, which is kept in motion by an ox, which is harnessed to it; the seed, or other material, is placed in a kind of trough or hopper in the centre, from which the oil is drawn off through a small aperture in the side.



Oil Mill.

In the neighbourhood of Ghazepore, a British station on the Ganges, roses are cultivated for the purpose of making rose-water, and the perfume commonly known by the name of otto (or more correctly, attar) of roses.

In our own day, the cultivation of the tea plant has been introduced in the Tenasserim provinces; and quite recently, and with a still better prospect of success, in the upper provinces of

Bengal. In the autumn of 1852, that distinguished naturalist and most trustworthy and excellent traveller, Mr. Fortune, purposely employed by the Honourable Company, planted several thousands of young plants on the lower ridges of the Himalaya mountains, not far from Simla. The soil and climate resemble those in the best tea districts of China, and are believed to be thoroughly congenial to the plant. Mr. Fortune also left on the spot several families of industrious Chinese, who had gladly followed him from their own homes in the tea districts of China, and who were most familiar with the cultivation of the tree, and the manipulation and due preparation of the tea for the European market. It is not doubted that other Chinese families, with the same qualifications, may very easily be induced to emigrate to India and settle there as tea-growers; nor can there be much doubt that many of the naturally docile and ingenious Hindūs will soon learn from these settlers the whole art and mystery of tea cultivation. It seems, therefore, that we may look to a great and rapid extension of this cultivation, which will find employment for vast numbers of the poor population of India. This will be a boon and blessing to the people, whose morals are invariably found to be improved by an increase of useful work, and active, remunerative employment. Moreover, this particular industry appears to be well suited to the patient disposition and the habits of the Hindūs. In the absence of railroads, the Ganges may convey the produce to the mart of Calcutta. Opium, which is so largely exported, grows in the north, but not in the south, and is the one article in which India excels, beyond competition, any other country in the world. Besides indigo, numerous valuable dyes have always been abundantly produced in many parts of India.

Indian sugar and Indian grown cotton appear to be annually increasing in importance as articles of export to England; and not a few writers have assumed that the cultivation of cotton might with no great difficulty be so improved and extended, as to render us independent of the American market for our supplies of that, to us, most important commodity. The cotton shrub seems to grow in all the latitudes of India, and the consumption by the inhabitants is enormous. They use cotton for everything, both as we do, and for many of the purposes to which we apply wool, hemp, flax, &c.; so that even now the

foreign export is a mere trifle compared to the home consumption. Tobacco also grows in all the different latitudes, and is very largely cultivated and consumed.

There is little reason to doubt that, at some time or other, nearly every part of the immense Peninsula has been very highly cultivated; but it must be remembered, that the English found the country torn to pieces and reduced to misery by the desolating predatory wars which had so long prevailed. The predatory system of the Afghans, Rohillas, Seiks, Mahrattas, and other invaders, depopulated and impoverished these regions to an extent which no regular wars could have done; works for irrigation, &c., fell to pieces for want of repair; the people became needy, the land out of cultivation; and thus the country was in a state from which it could be recruited only by very many years of peace. The fertile plains of the north seem to have suffered less, and to have had easier means of recovery than the regions of the south, the state of which appears to have been generally poor and bad.*

Impatient improvers and sharp critics, writing in England and in other parts of Europe, without local knowledge and that acquaintance with the country which can be obtained only by long residence and many toilsome journeys, are but too apt to overlook the difficulties which stand in the way of improvement, and to censure the Company which has done so much, for not having done much more, and in a shorter time.

The agriculture of a country can never be fully developed without good and abundant means of communication. The great rivers of the Peninsula, as the Ganges, Indus, and their tributaries, afford facilities for traffic, but by no means to the extent commonly considered in Europe. The value of the Indus, as a water highway, has been greatly exaggerated by those who have advocated or approved of our annexation of territory along its banks. These rivers are all navigable at certain seasons for boats and rafts; but as they run unrestrained through open plains, and loose, soluble soil, and rise and fall prodigiously as the rains set in or subside, their channels are not nearly so good for navigation as could be wished. They vary their course year by year, and generally a comparatively small stream runs in a sandy bed infinitely too large for it,

* George Campbell, Esq.—'Modern India; a Sketch of the System of Civil Government,' &c.

and abounding with sand banks and shallows, over which it is difficult to pull or propel even a flat-bottomed boat. From these causes, it is impossible to have any regular towing-path on which animals can be used. Boats cannot always sail, (at times, for days together, it would be useless, or worse, to attempt to hoist any canvas on them,) and when they cannot sail, they must be pulled in a painfully laborious manner by men. Even the descent of the Ganges, with the current in favour, is a tedious, and very often a distressing operation, for the flat boats are constantly grounding or sticking fast, now on this side of the narrow stream, and now on the other. There are few things in the country which the European soldiers more dislike than this navigation; for, besides its slowness and uncertainty, they have always the misery of being crowded and closely packed together in the country boats, where they have not room enough to move, or even to cook their dinners. In the plains, the roads are always practicable in the dry season for carts or bullock wagons, but they are execrably bad at all seasons, and impracticable even for bullock wagons during the rainy season. As in Persia and Turkey, the Mahommedans of India took great trouble to build bridges and khans, or caravanserais, but they never metalled their roads or took any pains with them beyond filling up with earth, brushwood and loose stones the crevices and deep chasms made by the deluging rains; and in the decline of the Mogul empire the bridges fell down, or were washed away, or were deserted by the wandering streams which so frequently make themselves entirely new beds; the caravanserais in general either fell to pieces through neglect, or were appropriated by some one for purposes very different to that of lodging merchants and travellers; so that, with respect to roads, the English had, in nearly every instance, to commence almost *de novo*. Except close to the great cities, where there was generally a stone causeway, the celebrated roads on the Grand Mogul's were little more than what the French call *du frayé*, or beaten tracks. In the south of India the rivers are seldom navigable at all, and the hilly roads are seldom practicable for any sort of wheeled carriage, unless they be made so, with great labour, for the occasion. Many a slow Indian march may be accounted for by the fact, that our troops had to make the roads by which they were to advance, and over which they were to transport their heavy guns

and baggage. The state of things in regard to traffic was, therefore, worse in these parts than in the north of India; and even now, much of the produce and other merchandise is carried, as in Persia and Turkey, on the backs of bullocks or horses.

The khans, or caravanserais, are precisely in the same style of architecture as those of Persia and Turkey, and like those, are very frequently found in ruins, with the domed roof fallen in, the walls rent, and the interior choked up with gigantic grass, and weeds, and underwood—a favourite abode of snakes and other reptiles. Many of them are of magnificent dimensions, and retain traces of the care and elegance with which they were internally decorated. In the olden time they were open to every comer, who, on his departure, paid a very small sum for his night's lodging and accommodation, or was quite free to depart, if poor, without any payment whatsoever. A spacious table was attached to the building, and wherever water was procurable, a fountain or a well was close by it. The wooden bungalows and guest-houses which the English have erected along the high roads for the benefit of way-farers are certainly, in point of architecture, but poor substitutes for the khans built by the Mogul emperors.

It is not uncommon to find in these ruined caravanserais numerous tribes of gypsies. Throughout India this strange, wild, wandering race exists in considerable numbers, with all the characteristics which belong to that race in every part of the world where they are found. The affinity, nay the almost identity of language, proves that the dark-eyed wanderers who frequent the lanes, commons and heaths of England sprang originally from Hindūstan, and ought, long since, to have settled the dispute about their origin. Of course, the language of the English gypsy is much mixed and corrupted; but any one familiar with Hindūstanee can converse with them in that idiom. The gypsies of India have no houses or fixed habitations of any kind; they are continually moving from place to place, following all kinds of avocations, except such as require hard labour. Like their brethren in England, Poland, Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, and other parts of Europe, they are said to be but indifferently honest, to have very vague notions as to the *meum* and *tuum*, and a constitutional difficulty in resisting any temptation to pilfer. There are several different varieties of the class in India, but we believe that the two

principal divisions are, as in Turkey, the black gypsies and the white gypsies—a difference of designation which does not arise from colour or complexion, but from some difference in their habits and pursuits.

Other occasional inhabitants of the deserted caravanserais and other ruins, are the two inferior classes of Hindūs. These are the Chamars, or preparers of leather, who are put to the ban, and never allowed to live in towns or villages, and the actual outcast class, the most completely proscribed of the Pariahs. Though called preparers of leather, the Chamars are far too numerous to be absorbed by that trade or occupation; in fact, they carry burthens and act as labourers more than any other class; they often cultivate land to a considerable extent, but they do not serve as soldiers; they eat carrion and all manner of unclean, unwholesome food, and have an inferior degraded appearance; they are admitted as Hindūs, though placed at the bottom of the tree, and they consider themselves a distinct caste, with a right of exclusiveness of their own. The other, or the actual outcast class, are not admitted to be Hindūs at all, and are regarded with abhorrence by all good Hindūs, who dread not only their touch, but the proximity of the very shadow they cast on the ground. A fat, pursy native banker, little accustomed or fitted to feats of agility, was seen, one day, making a good leap across the road; he was jumping to keep out of the polluting shade of a poor outcast who was passing on the other side of the way. In the south of India, where these people are most numerous, they are of inferior personal appearance, and are generally regarded as a great fragment of the aboriginal race; but in the north, where they are far from being so numerous, they do not betray the same personal inferiority; on the contrary, when in good circumstances, they are quite as personable and well-looking as the other Hindūs. That which chiefly distinguishes them from the Chamars is this—they make capital soldiers, and are distinguished by their bravery in actual combat. Indeed, whenever there is anything very daring or desperate to be done in war, they are the men to do it. On several critical occasions the victory of our forces has been mainly owing to these despised outcasts—despised by their own countrymen, but not by us. In the Mysore war against Tippoo Sultaun, they particularly distinguished themselves. But

no bravery, no virtue, no talent, no merit, can induce the men of caste to associate with or attribute any merit to these poor Pariahs. "None are to pray, to sacrifice, to read, or to speak to the hapless men; none are to be allied by friendship or by marriage, none to eat or drink with them: they are to be for ever excluded from all social connexions, to wander over the earth, or to dwell at a distance from the pure; deserted by all good men, and trusted by none; never to be received with affection, nor treated with kindness; but to be branded with infamy and shame; the curse of heaven, and the scorn and hatred of all men of pure caste."* If these anti-social, atrocious distinctions between man and man can but be swept away by our influence, teaching, and example—and we believe that in most parts of India they are slowly and gradually giving way—we shall not in vain have made ourselves conquerors of Hindūstan and occupants and rulers of the country.

In the high days of Thuggee the lone, ruined khans were not unfrequently the scenes of vile murders: poor travellers were enticed into their recesses by offers of kindness and hospitality, and there dispatched by noose or knife. An officer, travelling from Benares to Delhi, once found eleven human bodies, partially devoured by the jackals, lying in a corner of one of these edifices. But the subject of the Thugs, and that of the real aboriginal race of India, will be briefly discussed hereafter.

KINGDOM OF CABUL.

While the English were extending their empire in the east, Bonaparte had become emperor of France; and although that great potentate was sensible that the last remains of French influence in India had been annihilated by the fall of Tippoo, yet he manifested a disposition to restore it, and with that view sent an embassy in 1808 to the court of Persia, where it was favourably received by the reigning sovereign, Futteh Ali Shah. This movement induced the British government to send a mission to Persia to negotiate a treaty by which the

* Forbes.

danger of a French invasion of the British territories, on that side, might be obviated; and an ambassador was also despatched to the court of Cabul, as the road from Persia to Hindūstan lay through the country of the Afghans, to whose history it will now be proper to return.

After the battle of Panniput, in 1761, it was expected that the Afghan monarch, Ahmed Shah, would have assumed the title of Emperor, at Delhi; but he wisely returned to the kingdom he had founded for himself, which comprised all the fine provinces beyond the Indus, with the rich vale of Cashmere, and the territories of Balk and Herat. These together formed the great monarchy of Cabul, or Afghanistan.

Afghan Shepherd.

The Afghans had never been governed previously by a king; yet the good policy of Ahmed Shah enabled him to conciliate the many different tribes that constituted this warlike, half-civilised nation. He did not interfere with their customs; so that each tribe formed, as before, a distinct commonwealth, divided into several clans, each of which was headed by a chief, who bore the title of Khan. The superior of a whole tribe is sometimes called Sirdar, a military title, meaning general. The Afghan chiefs possess but a very limited authority over their people, who look upon them rather as magistrates than rulers, and are governed more by the laws and customs of their tribe than the will of their chief. Each tribe has its own territory, where the people live in villages, and the Khans in small

forts, generally destitute of furniture, and of all that, in a more advanced state of civilisation, is necessary to insure even a moderate degree of comfort. The Afghans of the plains cultivate the land, and the Khan takes a share of the produce as rent; but the peasants are not his vassals, nor has he any more authority over them than a Scottish laird has over his tenantry. If he possess flocks and herds, they are kept at distant pastures, under the care of shepherds, who dwell in tents, and form a numerous class of the population.

The present city of Candahar was built by Ahmed Shah, and was the seat of government during his reign, when it was a rich and populous capital. It is a regularly built town, with four wide bazaars, which meet in the centre, where they form a handsome market-place, which is covered with a dome, and one of them leads to the palace or citadel, where the king chiefly resided. As long as the court was held at Candahar, most of the great Khans had houses in that city, and its trade flourished in proportion to the wealth and consequence of its inhabitants; but when Timur removed the seat of government to Cabul, Candahar became a town of secondary importance.

The true Afghans never engage in trade. All the shopkeepers, artificers and merchants are of other nations, many of them Hindūs, who pay a small tax for the privilege of exercising their several professions, and observing the customs of their religion, which they are allowed to do, with the exception of that of exhibiting their idols in public; and, in consequence of this restriction, no Hindū festivals are held in Afghanistan.

During the vigorous government of Ahmed Shah, regular courts of justice were held in all the great cities of Cabul, and they were kept in order by an efficient police; but the country has suffered so much since that time, from the effects of civil war, and the want of a powerful head, that all these good regulations have fallen into disuse, and the kingdom of Cabul is no longer what it was in the days of that great prince with whom it rose, and with whom it fell.

Ahmed Shah died in 1773. He was indisputably a brave and powerful prince, fitted to lay the foundations of a new empire. His territory comprehended Candahar, Cabul, Cashmere, and Khorasan. The conquest and plunder of Hindūstan was his favourite object. Inclusive of a visit he paid to Delhi in the year 1737, in company of the Persian Nadir

Shah he visited India seven times, but without being able to make any lasting impression on that country. He was succeeded by Timur Shah, a prince of little enterprise or military skill. It is, however, affirmed that he could, at one period, assemble 200,000 men under arms, that he had some Sepoys disciplined after our model, and clad in our fashion in British manufactures. The trade in the necessary articles of clothing was carried on by the way of Sinde, up the Indus, and by its branches onward towards Cabul. The obedience of very considerable portions of the country was but doubtful and precarious, but the dominions of this Afghan sovereign of the Patan race and dynasty extended eight hundred miles in length, their breadth being much less. The province of Cabul was then considered the most fertile he was possessed of. It was generally described as a region highly favoured by nature and very much diversified, being made up of mountains covered with eternal snows, hills of moderate elevation and of easy ascent, rich plains, and stately forests, and all these brightened and enlivened by innumerable streams of water, many picturesque and romantic rapids, and not a few magnificent and sonorous cataracts. It was said to produce within itself every article necessary to human life, together with the most delicate fruits and beautiful flowers. Of the city of Cabul, the capital, Indian writers spoke in terms of rapture: its situation was no less pleasant and salubrious than romantic; the proximity of the Hindu Kush, or Indian Caucasus, and its snow-clad ridges, affected the temperature of the atmosphere and caused agreeable changes of weather; it enjoyed a most wholesome air, bracing and delicious to those who came up from the burning plains of Hindūstan, and it had within its reach the fruits and other products both of the temperate and torrid zone. Mixed with the Afghan population were many Persians and Tartars, and these people were found in considerable numbers in many parts of the kingdom; they willingly engaged as regular soldiers, and Timur Shah greatly preferred them, as they were more humble, docile, and steady than the Afghans. The government of the greater part of the country continued to be perfectly feudal: the country was divided into districts, which were severally ruled by distinct chiefs, absolute in authority, and independent of the lord-paramount, excepting in some cases, in which, by

certain tenures, military aids were established. Yet there was in reality little security for these military aids except in the good will of the chiefs. If conciliated and pleased, or if tempted by a sure prospect of booty, these heads of clans, who in many respects resembled our own highlanders, armed themselves and their retainers, took the field, and followed the king of Cabul or his lieutenants; if these friendly feelings and these attractions were wanting, they remained in the fastnesses of their own mountains. There were times when Timur Shah could attract to his standard 50,000 mountaineers, all mounted, armed, clad, and otherwise equipped at their own expense; there were other times when he could not collect so many as 500 round his standard of war. The whole race, however, was very excitable on one point: they were all devout or fanatical Mussulmans, and, at any season, a very eloquent, earnest and active dervish could rouse them to arms and drive them through the Kyber or Bolan pass, to make a holy war against the Ghiaour dwelling in Sinde, the Punjaub, or in the regions beyond the Indus. They are generally of the Sunnee sect of Mohammedans, and differ in every way from the Persians. They are above all things impatient of rule and control. Even the authority of the native chief over his clan seems to be in most cases very limited and uncertain. Not only have they given great trouble to the English, but they have been a thorn in the side of every ruling power in India: the Mogul emperors, whose first territory was Afghanistan, could never keep in order the Afghan tribes, bordering on India: and the most powerful of these monarchs had more trouble from petty clans about Peshawur than from all the rest of their subjects put together. Many of these Afghans are always ready to serve as mercenaries under any one, but, unless the difference of pay be very great, they prefer marching and fighting under the crescent. The Belochees, of whom so much has been heard in our late wars and in the Sinde campaigns of Sir Charles Napier, inhabit the hills to the south of Afghanistan, and seem to be a different people, smaller and darker, and having in their habits and ways more of the Arab of the desert than of the Afghan of the mountains. These Belochees are described by a recent English writer as a purely nomadic race, reluctant to take regular military service, but always ready for a foray, or any thieving and plun-

der. A great many of them are settled throughout Western India, in the professions of camel drivers, brigands, and thieves. Timur Shah, though at no time quite safe on his throne at Cabul, was ambitious of possessing a more absolute power, and took measures to curb the authority and license of the chiefs. He thus made enemies of those chiefs whose friendship had been the main support of Ahmed's throne. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the country should have been disturbed by frequent insurrections during the reign of Timur Shah, which lasted twenty years, and that some of the states which had been conquered and made tributary by his father, should have taken advantage of the unsettled state of affairs to attempt the recovery of their independence. Among these was Sinde, a wild, and in some parts a barren province, ruled, in the time of Ahmed, by a prince of Persian origin named Abdoolnubbee, who, in consequence of his tyranny, was deposed soon after the accession of Timur, to whom he fled for protection,

The revolution that deprived Abdoolnubbee of his principality, was effected by the Talpoores, a warlike tribe, who constituted the military population of the country, and have kept possession of it ever since, subject to the king of Cabul; for Timur, after several vain attempts to restore the deposed sovereign, accepted the submission of the rebels, and consented to invest their chief with the government, on condition that he should continue to pay the customary tribute; which he promised to do. Some time afterwards, three brothers agreed to divide the country amongst them; and it was long governed by three military chiefs, who received their investiture from the king of Cabul and ruled in his name, under the title of Ameers, or commanders of Sinde. Their numbers have since increased; and at the commencement of the late war in India, the province was found divided into a number of petty principalities, of which every chief bore the title of Ameer, and was a military despot.

The death of Timur Shah, which took place in 1793, was followed by a civil war; for as there was no fixed rule of succession with regard to the throne, several of his sons came forward as claimants, the fourth of whom, Shah Zeman, having the strongest party among the Sirdars, was proclaimed, and placed by force on the throne. It is said that his success

was owing to his mother, who gained the support of a powerful Khan, the father of the grand vizier, by sending to him her veil; an expedient sometimes adopted by females of high rank, when they would implore the aid of him to whom the token is sent. It would seem, therefore, that a feeling allied to a spirit of chivalry existed in Afghanistan, and that knights were not wanting to fight in a lady's cause.

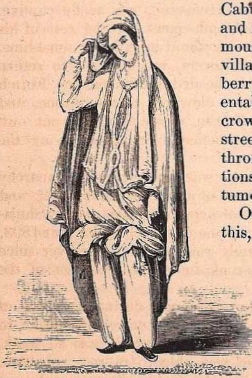
The ceremony of Zeman's coronation was no sooner over, than an ambassador arrived at Cabul from Tippoo Saib, who offered splendid bribes to the new monarch, to induce him to join in the wars against the English; but Zeman had plenty of employment at home, for several of his brothers were in arms, for the purpose of depriving him of the throne, and the whole province of Cashmere was in rebellion. It is needless to enter into the particulars of the wars that ensued among the brothers, one of whom, Prince Mahmud, was defeated in battle; and another, Prince Humayun, was made captive, deprived of sight, and put in confinement for the rest of his life. Mahmud, after wandering about in exile for some time, attended by a few faithful followers, was induced to return by the news of a rebellion, headed by the famous Futteh Khan, which ended in his own elevation to the throne, and the imprisonment of Shah Zeman, whose eyes were put out; according to the barbarous practice so common among the eastern nations.

The brief reign of Mahmud was marked by the anarchy that usually attends the success of a military adventurer, and in less than three years, he was deposed by his brother, Shuja-ul-Mulk, who ascended the throne of Cabul in the year 1803. Shah Zeman was immediately released, and has ever since lived in a style befitting his rank, under the protection of the British government.

Shah Shuja maintained the sovereignty during the space of six years, but he had not ability sufficient to restore order to the state, or power to the government, which was so weak, that every discontented chief was able to raise a rebellion, knowing that, in case of failure, he could escape punishment by seeking shelter in the midst of his clan. The most dangerous of these was Futteh Khan. He was a powerful chief of the Durani tribe, and his influence might have supported Shuja on the throne, if that monarch had been wise enough to

have secured his friendship by granting him certain appointments that had been held by his father; but this favour was refused, and the indignant chief retired from court, and offered his services to Mahmud, the ex-king, who, by his aid, was in a few months restored to the throne of Cabul, and Shah Shuja was obliged to leave the kingdom, and seek safety in the British dominions.

It was just before the dethronement of this ill-fated monarch that the English, as before stated, having some reason to apprehend an invasion of the French by the way of Persia, sent a mission to Cabul, with a view of engaging the government of that country to oppose such an attempt, if it should be made. When the embassy arrived in the early part of 1809, Shah Shuja, who had already commenced the war with his brother Mahmud, was holding his court at Peshawur, a wealthy and populous city of Cabul, situated in an extensive and fertile plain, surrounded by mountains, and studded with villages, orchards, and mulberry groves. Like other oriental cities, Peshawur is a busy, crowded place, with narrow streets, full of shops, and thronged with men of all nations, in every variety of costume.


Afghan lady in her riding dress.

One of the peculiarities of this, and other towns of Cabul, is, that wheel carriages not being used in that country, the ladies ride on horseback in the streets, wrapped in a thick white veil; and as they sit on their horses in the same fashion as gentlemen, they always wear a huge pair of white cotton boots when riding. In general the women of the country appear to be fair, well made, and altogether well favoured. They owe

these advantages to the race from which they derive their origin, and, no doubt, still more to the climate and the nature of the country they inhabit. The ladies of the rich and great have frequently complexions as fair as any that are seen in our northern climate; their hair and eyes are usually as black as those of the Persians, but light brown hair, and blue or grey eyes are far from being rarities. Many authors unhesitatingly affirm that the Afghans are of Jewish origin, that they themselves claim a descent from the Ten Tribes of Israel, and that they have a great deal of Jewish feature. According to Sir W. Jones, the best Persian authorities coincide with them in their account of their origin. This learned writer further says that many of their families are distinguished by the names of Jewish tribes; and Sir John Malcolm states, that this Jewish origin is claimed for the Afghans by nearly all the Mohammedan writers, and that he himself possessed a genealogical table, in which it was attempted to prove that all the principal families of Afghanistan were lineal, direct descendants of the ancient kings of Israel. Not to mention other authorities, Mr. Chamberland, a resident missionary, assures us, that "Many of the Afghans are undoubtedly of the race of Abraham." The cool air of the mountains must have changed the Jewish complexion of the men as well as that of the women, for generally they have colour in their cheeks, and their complexion is a ruddy olive. Whatever their origin—and, for ourselves, we are disposed to believe that the Jewish element must have been very much mixed—they are indisputably a fine race. Their love of an unruly independence is their predominant passion. One of their chiefs exclaimed: "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master." We need not tell any reader, acquainted with the mournful history of our war in the country, that they are savagely and implacably vindictive: they look upon revenge as the highest virtue, and the holiest duty. Their internal feuds are of the most deadly character. Among them there are few men of any station who are not obliged to be continually on the watch for their lives; and in every village may be seen men whose constant habit it is to wear armour as a protection against the sudden assaults of their private foes. Many of them never quit their houses—not even to go to the mosque—without being attended by

armed retainers. If a father fall, the son must avenge his death, or be held as infamous; if a brother, the surviving brother, or the cousin, or some one nearest of kin must have blood for blood. As among the fierce Sclavonic tribes of Monte-Negro the mother keeps the blood-stained shirt or tunic of her husband, and frequently displays it to her young son to stimulate his vengeance and his courage, and to remind him that he must slay the slayer of his father so soon as he is old and strong, and skilful enough. Mr. Mounstuart Elphinstone, and every other well-informed traveller, has been forcibly struck with the curious points of resemblance, and in many instances of absolute parallelism between the habits of these Oriental mountaineers, and those of the old highland clans. Many of their superstitions are identical: the Gholee Beabaum, or Afghan demon of the desert, is the same as the Boddach of the highlanders, who "walked the heath at midnight, and at noon." The ordinary mode of divination among the Afghans is by examining the marks in the blade-bone of a sheep held up to the light, and this is precisely the mode which used to be adopted by the highlanders. Other instances of close resemblance have been mentioned by English writers, and, no doubt, many more might be discovered by any curious investigator if he could live long in the country, visit the remote glens, acquire the language, and associate with the people.

At the time of Mr. Elphinstone's embassy to Cabul, the court was held with great splendour. When the ambassador was admitted to an audience, he found the king seated on a superb throne, dressed in a green tunic embroidered with flowers of gold, interspersed with precious stones, and wearing a breastplate of diamonds. On his head was a crown, covered entirely with diamonds, and radiated like the crowns of the ancient kings. He wore round his neck several strings of large pearls, and on his arms bracelets of emeralds, with the celebrated diamond called the Kohi-Noor, which is known as one of the largest in the world,* and is now the property of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The hall, which was open on all sides, was supported by pillars, a fountain played in its centre, and it was covered with rich Persian carpets, round the edges of which were small mats, of silk and gold, for the nobles to

* See Appendix B.

stand on, all of whom were dressed in cloth of gold, the usual state dress of that period at the court of Cabul. The embassy was most graciously received, but the king was then preparing to set out on the unfortunate campaign that ended in his loss of the crown, and as the British government was not inclined to interfere in the affairs of the state, the embassy returned to India.

Shortly afterwards, Shah Shuja, having been defeated, fled from his kingdom, and, after many misfortunes, placed himself under the protection of the English, who granted a pension for his support, and allowed him to reside at the frontier town of Loodiana. Mahmud again took possession of the throne, but the government was left to the chief minister, Futteh Khan, who ruled, according to his own pleasure, in the name of the king. By the aid of the powerful chief, Runjeet Singh, who had lately established a new kingdom in the Punjab, Futteh Khan recovered the province of Cashmere, and also gained a victory over the Persians, who had laid siege to Herat, to enforce a demand of tribute made by the Shah of Persia. But the successful vizier sullied his victory, and accelerated his own ruin, by plundering the palace, and even the harem of the governor, who was a brother of the king; on which Prince Kamran, Mahmud's eldest son, in revenge for the insult offered to his uncle, caused Futteh Khan to be imprisoned, and deprived of sight; and, soon afterwards, he was put to death, by command of the ungrateful monarch whom he had placed on the throne.

The death of the vizier threw the whole country into confusion, for Mahmud was again deposed, and a series of wars followed, which terminated in the breaking up of the empire into several petty principalities, of which the most important, that of Cabul, was seized by Dost Mohammed, a younger brother of the unfortunate vizier, Futteh Khan.

The usurpation of this prince was the cause of the late war in Afghanistan, which was undertaken by the British Governor-General with a view of restoring the exiled monarch, Shah Shuja, to his throne; but other, and more important events that occurred in India during the long interval between the flight of Shuja and his restoration, now claim attention, and will be related under, what may almost be termed, the reigns of the British Governors of India.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

THE Governor-General of India held his court with all the state of a sovereign prince, at Calcutta, where a magnificent palace had been built by the Marquis Wellesley. The extensive plain, in the front of which this edifice was erected, was adorned with a great number of handsome detached mansions, which were the residences of the principal English families, and were placed in the midst of large gardens. The city had also been greatly enlarged and improved; or, it may be said, that a new city had been added to the old one. The latter was called the Black, or native town, while the new part was distinguished as the European quarter, and consisted of fine streets, and squares, formed of elegant buildings, mostly detached from each other, but having a communication by stone terraces, and being shaded by a variety of luxuriant trees. Between the Black town and the European quarter were many dwellings in the eastern style, built within inclosed courts, and inhabited chiefly by wealthy merchants, some of whom were natives of Bengal, others Parsees, or Armenians. Besides the government house, the new town boasted of several other fine

The Government House.

public buildings, among which were two large churches, a town-house, and a court-house, to which was afterwards added a theatre; and Calcutta had, in a short time, become an extensive, gay, and populous capital.

Many vague and not a few incorrect notions exist in Europe as to the climate and seasons of India. These, as we have already said, vary very much in different parts of the country; the climate of Madras differing from that of Calcutta, and the climate of Bombay differing from that of Madras. We have not space to give the peculiarities or marked features of the capital of all the three presidencies, but we extract from the work of an old resident a clear and excellent account of the climate of Calcutta.

"It would be useless to characterise the seasons by names, which, familiar to the European reader, would be associated by him with characteristics in no way belonging to the seasons of India. To talk of a Calcutta 'summer' would be to include the whole year; to speak of its autumn would be absurd, for its trees are never denuded of leaves; spring would be equally unmeaning, when vegetation blossoms in every month; and winter is there unknown. All that can be said to suggest the idea of similarity is, that being in the same northern hemisphere, its times of greatest cold and heat occur nearly at the same periods of the year as in Europe.

"Yet Calcutta has its seasons, and those, too, of characters most marked. November, December, January, and February, are its *cold season;* March, April, and May, its *hot season;* June, July, and August, its *rainy season;* and September and October its steamy period. But I will trace the peculiarities of each month in detail.

"January is by far the coldest of the months in Calcutta, the thermometer often being as low as 53° at sunrise, while 89° 8″ is its maximum at the hottest period of the day, namely, about half-past two in the afternoon. The barometer usually varies between 30,090 and 29,834 inches.

"Thanks to the emulation excited among the native *mallees* (gardeners) by the premiums offered by the Agri-Horticultural Society, the bazaars, if visited at sunrise, will be found at this season of the year abundantly supplied with very fine vegetables.

"Peas, cauliflowers, equal to any produced in England; cab-

bages, and turnips, the latter never good; carrots, often excellent, too frequently stringy; potatoes in abundance, but small, brought from Chirah Poonjee and other hill-districts; yams; asparagus, small and ill-flavoured; cucumbers, small, but in endless abundance; celery, small, and raised with difficulty; lettuces; onions, magnificent in size and of the mildest flavour; kidney-beans, red-beet, knoll-kole (turnip-rooted cabbage), of great excellence. The supply is endless of kutchoo, seem, and brinjalls, native vegetables, which are rather insipid, and the rind of the last-named abounding in gallic acid.

"Of fruits, plums, pine-apples, guavas, tipparahs, loquats, oranges, plantains, pumple-noses (shaddocks), and a few others of less note may be obtained at prices ludicrously low, according to our European experience. Thus, the finest pine-apples are purchased for about an anna, equivalent to three half-pence English. These are consequently employed for the most common table-purposes, and pine-apple sauce with goose, and dumplings of the same delicious fruit, are ordinary dishes.

"I must observe, that on the banks of the Ganges, and elsewhere in the vicinity of Calcutta, the cucumber is grown in fields of many acres in extent. Being one of the most favourite edibles of the natives, it is necessary to have them strictly guarded; and the little reed-hut, in the centre of the space, for the watchman's shelter, looks so solitary and forlorn, that in an instant the mind reverts to the Scripture portraiture of desolation, resembling it to 'a lodge in a garden of cucumbers.'

"'February fill-dyke,' is not the characteristic of that month, as it is in England; for in India, during its early days, the cold weather is closing, and gradually passes, as its days come to an end, into that which is emphatically called '*the* hot season.'

"In Calcutta the average temperature of the month is about 72° 5″, the maximum, during a series of years, being 82° and the minimum 63°. The atmospheric pressure is much more equable, the maximum height of the barometer being 30,066 inches, and minimum 29,953 inches. With such a temperature it is startling to English ears to learn that February is numbered among the *cold* months of Hindostan. for that temperature is as high as that of the hottest of the English summer months.

"It will also seem extraordinary that the cooler season of India is that which usually is most disagreeable to Europeans,

especially those who are in delicate health, or have been long resident in India. Accustomed to a constant and most profuse determination of moisture to the skin, this cold season, causing a complete revulsion, occasions more unhealthiness than any other season, and a dry irritable state of the surface that is indescribably unpleasant. The reduction of temperature is felt most acutely, so as to render fire agreeable, and, indeed, promotive of health; for the surface of the body is rendered so sensitive of cold, that warm as it would appear to any one removed suddenly from Great Britain to Calcutta, yet to the old Indian it is peculiarly distressing. 'I can bear the chilling blasts of Caledonia,' said a Scotchman, 'but *this* cold I know not what to do with it!'" *

This cold is not only very uncomfortable but is also very prejudicial to health, the transition from heat being so violent. Old Anglo-Indians say that it is not the hot but the cold weather that kills new comers, and they caution strangers to be very careful when the warm weather ceases.

During the month of February the fruit and vegetable markets of Calcutta continue to offer small water-melons, custard-apples, mulberries, gourds, and ghirkins. Though of frugal life, the Hindūs have very few *fasts*: *festivals* being much more common among them. One of their very rare fasts occur in this month; it is in commemoration of the marriage of the god Shiva, and is called the Seebo Rattree. According to the most popular account, this is the origin of the austere anniversary:—Shiva, being asked by his wife what would please him most, answered, "to hold a fast on this day." The wife acted on the suggestion, and as she was never afterwards unfortunate or unhappy, the Hindūs fast in the persuasion that by so doing they shall share in the same blessing. But the Seebo Rattree is very far from being a solemn affair; those who strictly observe the injunction to take no food, pass the whole night, being sleepless from hunger, in playing at cards, dice, and other games in use among them.

March is a month of "many weathers:" foggy mornings and bright noon-tides; days of increasing torrid effulgence contrasted, in fickle variety, with days of gloom and heavy

* 'The Stranger in India; or Three Years in Calcutta.' By George W. Johnson, Esq. London, 1843. We recommend these two compact volumes as containing useful information not to be found elsewhere.

rain; and the month usually closes with the hurly-burly of storms, proceeding invariably from the quarter to which they owe the title of *North-Westers.* These are announced by dense volumes of dust which overspread the whole city. So thick are these clouds of flying sand that very often no object can be seen at the distance of a hundred yards; and, urged along as they are by the violent gale which raises them, they penetrate into every corner: the interior of the houses are not exempt from their visit; they soon cover the floor, the furniture, and everything else with their red and gritty particles; and these attaching to the moisture, ever upon the skin in India, produce irritation and great discomfort. The only remedy is to be constantly washing and bathing. But the most prevalent winds are from the south and south-west. The monsoon from the south-west fairly sets in in March, and continues without cessation till October. It is at the height of its violence in May and June, when the navigation down the bay of Bengal is rendered slow, unpleasant, and very often dangerous. Those violent influxes of the tide, known by the name of bores, are greatest during the reign of the south-west monsoon, but they occur only during the highest or alternate spring tides. This monsoon is often a terrible enemy, but it is also, and always, a valuable friend. Its strong wind, continuing as it does throughout the hot season, is highly conducive to the prevention of disease in Calcutta, for, were the air stagnant at that season, it would be productive of fever and other disorders arising from the malaria or putrid miasma of the swamps and jungles.

During the month of March "green peas and turnips disappear; salad, cabbages, carrots, and celery are on the decline; asparagus and potatoes are good; fish and fruit plentiful; . . . water-melons appear and continue until the middle of June; green mangoes and unripe musk-melons are in the bazaars, as are also omrah and watercresses." *

The celebrated Hindū festival called *Hooly* occurs during March. This noisy and ridiculous celebration, which is observed throughout India, is in honour of the god Krishna, who is recorded to have passed this season sporting with his innumerable female attendants. It is celebrated with univer-

* Major Bruce's Calendar, as quoted by George W. Johnson, 'Stranger in India.'

sal hilarity, or, at least, with universal noise and confusion, and, where circumstances admit, it is kept up with great pomp and expense. Social distinctions are levelled while it lasts, and a license of tongue and of action is allowed to all. "It is like the Saturnalia of ancient Rome, a time of obscenity and disregard of the proprieties of life. At no other period of the year is the dull monotonous tomtom heard so incessantly throughout all hours of the day and night. This ill-sounding drum, made of parchment stretched over an earthenware jar, seems to have peculiar charms for the Hindū ear. It is played upon by the fingers, and accompanies all their festivals, all their processions, beaten loudly, but as destitute of harmony as an old kettle. To listen from the roof of a house, some mile or two from the city, to the incessant, unchanging sound of this instrument at night, would lead the hearer to think that the tomtomming was the noise attendant upon the action of some never-stopping machine, and would make a nervous man go frantic." *

In some of its parts the feast of the Hooly resembles the Carnival as held in Rome and Naples. There is a great pelting in both, but the Italians pelt with sugar-plums or plums made of chalk or whitening, which break and cover the clothes with white powder, so that the wearers are made to look like millers, or like people who had been working in a chalk-pit; while the Hindūs bespatter one another with a red powder, of a colour not unlike the ruddle which we employ on our sheep. This powder, called phang, is thrown about in prodigious quantities: if you meet an Hindū bacchanal at this season you will find him with a garland of flowers round his neck and covered from head to foot with phang. Bishop Heber, in the delightful and instructive journal of his travels through India, has given some descriptions of this childish and ridiculous festival. It were well if childishness were the worst attribute of the Eastern Saturnalia. Many things in them must be subversive more particularly of modesty and female virtue, and are much too gross to bear any description in plain English, or any attempt at such description, for (we rejoice in the fact) our honest idiom has no equivalent for many of the Hindū expressions, and no means of conveying some of the foulest meanings. The passion, the rage of the natives for the sports of the Hooly is, how-

* 'Stranger in India.'

ever, measureless and apparently unabated by time and experience, except among those who have become real, sincere converts to Christianity. The passion pervades and has pervaded all classes from the highest to the lowest. The native princes, now possessing the mere shadow of sovereignty, may waste their time in these sports without any great injury to public business, but it was otherwise when they were allowed really to rule or misrule their own states, and when they were not dependents but only allies of the British. The Great Lord Clive and the equally Great Warren Hastings often found some of their most important measures thwarted or delayed by the long festival of the Hooly, during which these native rulers would attend to no manner of business, however pressing and important it might be. Not even the threat of an Afghan or Rohilla invasion, or the near tramp of the Mahratta cavalry, could call them from their sporting and feasting, or rouse them to a due sense of their danger and the danger of the country. On one critical occasion, when the peril was imminent, Clive sent to the Court of the then powerful Nabob of Bengal, to conjure him to prepare his troops and get ready for the field. His Lordship's messengers found the Nabob, his vizier, his ministers of state, his generals, and all his courtiers and grandees pelting one another with red powder, hooting and screaming, and looking like so many jack-puddings or clowns come out of a brick-kiln. The Nabob was conjured by Clive's letter to leave off these idle sports, but he could attend to no other thing until the Hooly was over.

April, according to an Indian poet, is a month of a fiery sun and beautiful moons. The mean temperature at Calcutta is about 85° 4′, but too frequently rises to above 110°. It is considered one of the least sickly months of the year. The wind blows strongly from the south; and yet, if rain do not fall, it is oppressive rather than refreshing, except during the evening and until sunrise. It is more than any other month liable to the violent storms called south-westers. In April the far-famed Mangoe-fish comes into season, and some have considered the exquisiteness of its flavour as a grand set-off against the other disagreeables of the month. Yet, according to an Anglo-Indian gastronome, the merits of the fish have been exaggerated. He says it is certainly the best fish procurable in India, but all other fish are little worth, and that it is infinitely inferior to

the smelt, which it most nearly resembles of any of our English fish. The ortolan, the Indian carp, and one or two other delicacies, including asparagus, are also added to the list during this month. It is in April that they celebrate the absurd and yet horrible rites of the Churruck Poojah, with atrocities and self-inflicted tortures which almost exceed belief. These, however, are gradually on the decline; and it is hoped that, without any legal coercion on the part of Government, which seldom effects its object, they will gradually die out. They are generally celebrated in the ghauts which lead down to the river Ganges. There, only fifteen years ago, nearly every Hindū Rajah had a Churruck-post erected, and at each post was to be seen swinging a lacerated victim, swinging and enduring his torments in honour of the god Shiva. Crowds of natives were gathered round each spot, all excited or half maddened by opium and bhang; boys and men were clinging on to the rope at one end of the beam, to which any wretched creature might permit himself to be hooked, and waiting with wild impatience to aid in whirling him round. At length some wild-looking man, with his eyes glaring maniacally, his hair floating loose on the breeze, and every feature, every gesture betokening the phrenzy of intoxication, would come forward; and then the bystanders, with enthusiastic delight, thrust iron hooks through the flesh of his loins or shoulders. Before this period, however, they had begun to relax the cruelty of this operation by passing a strong handkerchief across his breast, and so attaching it to the hooks that it sustained the chief weight of the victim's body. In former times (considered by the fanatics as much more orthodox and pious than the present) the whole weight of the body was upon the perforated flesh, and most frightful wounds were often produced in consequence. As soon as the man was attached to the hooks, he was run up by the rope to the height of thirty or forty feet, when he was whirled round and round in an endless circle, and as fast as the men and boys at the foot of the Churruck-post could whirl him. The infatuated wretch continued to wave his hand, as if to urge them on faster and faster, and from a small bag he scattered fruit upon the ground, which was scrambled for by the multitude, in the belief that these were imbued with peculiar sanctity, and would act as charms and blessings. While this was in progress other poor

wretches maltreated themselves, as usual, by thrusting knives through their cheeks, hooks through their sides, etc. Money was showered upon them. Let the rewards be withdrawn, and the self-torturings will cease. In the year 1842 the high class and richer natives in and about Calcutta unanimously resolved not to erect any more Churruck-posts.

The 12th of April is the New-Year's-Day, and is an occasion of general festivity. May is the very climax of the sultry season. During this month, according to a Sanscrit poem, the serpent is exhausted by the heat of the sun, and the very tiger is deprived of his ferocity and strength. In Calcutta the mean temperature is 85° 7′. As some compensation, the Mangoe-fish is now in its greatest abundance and perfection; and fruit, comprising pine-apples, rose-apples, lichees, pomegranates, etc., is most plentiful. May usually ushers in the rainy season at Calcutta, but the floods, and the deluge, in all its force and perseverance, arrive in the month of June. Then the air is cooled and the town thoroughly washed and cleansed, so as to render out-door exercise grateful and improving to the health. This season offers artichokes, asparagus, green sage, country radishes, dwarf cucumbers, small red onions, squash, large tomatas, potatoes, sweet potatoes, figs, pine-apples, peaches, grapes, guavas, shaddocks, and other vegetables and fruits. Two Hindū festivals occur during June, but one is almost extinct and the other in a rapid decline. July is one of the most oppressive of months in Bengal, because, in addition to a temperature little below that of the hottest, the atmosphere is super-saturated with moisture. This combination of heat and vapour is thought to be the most trying to which the human frame can be exposed. "Anything comparable to it in England," says Mr. G. W. Johnson, "is unknown, except we take the air of a brew-house when the copper is being emptied and the place is filled with condensing steam. Every article of clothing feels reeking; the skin, like that of a washer-woman, appears white and soaked with clammy moisture; while the strength and spirits are borne down with a lassitude unimaginable by an uninitiated European. The Hindū festival of the month is the Ruth Jattra, in honour of Juggernaut, one of the greatest and, until of late years, one of the most horrible in their red book. The procession, with the voluntary human sacrifices to this lascivious god, has been so frequently

described that it scarcely needs any account at our hands. There is no province of Bengal which cannot boast of its own Juggernaut, and its own car of the Moloch, varying in height from five to sixty feet. But the grandest car and the most imposing rites are celebrated at Chandode, reputed the most holy place in the western provinces of Hindūstan—a place surrounded by cool, quiet groves, where the voluptuous devotees pass their lives with the dancing girls attached to the temples. These temples or dewals, at Chandode, daily undergo a variety of lustrations: not only do the priests and worshippers perform their frequent ablutions, but the lingam, the images, and the altars are washed and bathed with oil, or with water and milk. The Bramins are bound to wash the great image of Juggernaut six times every day, and at each time to dress it in fresh clothes. After the idol is dressed, fifty-six Bramins attend and present various kinds of food. It is reported that in former times the quantity of victuals offered to all the idols at Chandode was quite sufficient to feed daily 20,000 persons. At the great festival Juggernaut is carried in procession upon a car of sixteen wheels; and the deluded people believe that whosoever assists in drawing it along obtains remission of all his sins, and that whosoever throws himself before it, and is crushed by its ponderous wheels, secures thereby immortal bliss. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely, Bolorom and Shububra, his brother and sister, who receive equal adoration and sit upon thrones of a height nearly equal to his own. The car is a stupendous machine, about sixty feet high, resting on its many wheels, which deeply indent the ground as they slowly revolve under the enormous weight. Attached to the car are six cables, by which the people draw it along. The throne on the top of the car is a sort of tower with platforms upon which stand many of the priests. The idol Juggernaut is a shapeless block of wood, having a frightful visage painted on it in black paint, with a distended mouth painted a deep red, as if bathed in blood; the arms are of gold, and the hideous god is dressed in gorgeous robes. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Whenever a poor fanatic is crushed to death by the wheels, Juggernaut is said to smile, and shouts of joy and exultation are raised by the multitude, who, as the car rolls onward, constantly cry, "Joy, Juggernaut! *Jugger-*

nauther Piritay! Hurree, Hurree Bol!" Not many years ago, a Bramin being asked how many people he supposed to have been present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed, replied, "How can I tell? Who can count how many grains there are in a handful of sand?" But year by year the number decreases, and the instances of self-immolation are now very rare, if not quite unknown. From very remote days the rulers of the country patronised the obscene, greedy, and indolent priests, who long fattened on the wretched delusions of the poor people. They were always supported in the exercise of their functions by the existing powers; but now that the British authorities, after many cautious proceedings, have ventured to cut at the root, their preponderating influence must sink into nothingness. An enlightened Hindū has said, "Their incomes have been reduced, the prejudices of the native population have been in a great measure shaken, and the great Moloch of India now totters on his dilapidated, ruined car."

The month of August is somewhat hotter at Calcutta than that of July. It boasts two or three Hindū festivals; in one of which the devout besmear their bodies with clay, butter, milk, curd, turmeric, and other unctuous and coloured substances, and in that state proceed either to the Ganges or to some neighbouring tank for the performance of the holy ablution.

In September the rains gradually subside, and the *freshes* of the Ganges are now at their greatest height. The waters of the river, free from any taste of salt even below Saugor in the sea, roll down like a mighty flood of mud, so loaded with earthy matter that a tumbler full will show a deposit nearly equal to one-fourth of the bulk of water from which it is precipitated. This fact will account for the vast and ever-shifting shoals of the Ganges, and for the sand-banks at its mouth.

Towards the close of October the cold season, as it is styled in Calcutta, commences, being usually ushered in by strong gales. During the month the Hindūs celebrate another great festival, called the Doorga Pooja, which is marked with general hilarity, and an enormous outlay in idols and little images. The craft of image-making is still one of the most lucrative in Calcutta. It is said that in this city alone no

fewer than ten or twelve thousand idols are enthroned and worshipped.

November is one of the most bracing and spirit-cheering of the twelve months of the year, yet in it care is necessary to prevent dangerous consequences of the change. At sunrise the thermometer often stands below 60°, and the mean temperature does not exceed 74°. This reduction of heat is accompanied by a dry north-easterly wind, which subjects the constitution to a severe trial. "The nights and mornings," says the agreeable writer of 'The Stranger in India,' "are accompanied by the densest fog I have ever witnessed, and, as it does not rise many feet above the ground, it has a strange appearance to see the heads of those who are taking their morning ride peering above the vapour, whilst their bodies and the horses on which they are seated are perfectly hidden from sight." The vegetable market begins its best season during this month. November has two Hindū festivals, in one of which (the Jugguddhatree, or the Mother of the World) whole hetacombs used to be sacrificed, and many animals are still slaughtered as offerings to the goddess. So incorrect is the general notion as to the scruples of the Bramins in destroying animal life on any occasion! Mr. Johnson describes it as a disgusting spectacle, equally revolting to humanity and common decency, to behold a deluded multitude daubed with mud and grease and the blood of the sacrificed animals, parading the streets, dancing and singing obscene songs. He adds, and with proper emphasis: "Mr. Moore, when he talked, in his 'Life of Sheridan,' of the holy and peaceful shades of the Bramins! did not know those of whom he was writing." But Moore followed Sheridan's brilliant but flimsy factitious orations, and Sheridan, in common with nearly all the men who got up, and so long and so wickedly persevered in, the impeachment of Warren Hastings, was grossly ignorant of India, its different inhabitants, and of all that concerned the immense and much-varied country. At that time they were emboldened in their ignorance and impudence of assertion, as there were few or no popular books upon India; and Englishmen at home—even those of the more educated classes—knew but little on the subject.

December is one of the months most friendly and acceptable to Englishmen in Calcutta. The mean temperature is about

66° ; the mornings are quite cold. Sickness is less prevalent, and the average monthly mortality decreases. The markets are better supplied than during any other month. No doubt, on account of the cold and fogs (their ceremonies and revelry usually occurring at night and in the open air), the Hindūs have no festival during December.

The Marquis of Hastings succeeded Lord Minto as Governor-General of India, in 1813, and continued to exercise the vice-regal authority for nearly ten years, during which he did much for the benefit of the native population, by promoting education, projecting and executing many useful public works, and suppressing those predatory hordes already mentioned under the name of Pindarries, who had become the scourge of the whole country. The Pindarrie chiefs held lands in the dominions of Holkar and Sindia, both of whom had large bodies of these desperadoes attached to their armies, for whose maintenance they had granted portions of territory on feudal tenure, which gave them a degree of consideration, notwithstanding their bad character. They did not belong to any particular caste or tribe, but seem to have consisted of the worst of almost every nation in India; and, when not engaged in the service of the native princes, roamed about the country in large bands, of from two to three thousand, for the purpose of obtaining plunder, for which end, they did not scruple to commit the most revolting outrages. Some were well mounted, and armed with spears and matchlocks; but the greater number were supplied but indifferently with horses and arms of any description; and every man depended on his own resources for obtaining food, both for himself and the animal on which he rode. Their costume was as varied as their equipments; but all were distinguished by a ferocity of aspect that corresponded with their mode of life.

The sufferings experienced by the helpless villagers, when so unfortunate as to be visited by a party of these marauders, were most severe. Their houses were ransacked, and set on fire, the women and children were often murdered, and the men subjected to the most excruciating tortures, to make them confess where they had concealed either money or ornaments.

For some years, the Pindarries confined their ravages to the provinces of Malwa, Rajputana, and Berar: but, after a

time, they began to make incursions into the territories of the Nizam and the Peishwa, but still refrained from visiting the British possessions. They were accompanied in all their expeditions by their wives who rode on small horses or camels, and were no less rapacious and cruel than themselves; and after every predatory excursion, they returned home to share the spoils, when the elephants and palanquins were given up to the chief, but the rest of the ill-gotten treasure was equally divided, and publicly exposed for sale at a kind of fair held for that purpose, where the women sold the goods, while the men amused themselves with smoking, and playing at various games. It is stated, that these fairs were always numerously attended, although the nature of the business transacted at them was perfectly well known. At the time when the Marquis of Hastings arrived in India, the Pindarries mustered a force of not less than 40,000 cavalry, so that there was no chance of putting a stop to their depredations, but by a regular war.

What their numbers really were could at no time be correctly estimated: they varied with circumstances, being thinned by failure and swelled by success. They offered a ready refuge to poverty, indolence, and crime—to all that was floating and unattached in the then frequently revolutionised communities of Central India. Their bands were fed and nourished by the very miseries they created, for those whom they despoiled and left utterly bare could think of no better recourse than a place in their ranks, which might enable them to gain a subsistence by plundering other people. They trusted to the secresy and suddenness of their irruptions for avoiding those who guarded the frontiers of the countries they invaded; and before a force could be brought against them, they were on their return. Their chief strength lay in their being intangible. If at any time pursued, they made marches of extraordinary length by roads almost impracticable to regular troops. "Their horses must have been of a good breed, and hard of hoof (they were mostly bred in the mountains of Upper India), for they were fleet, capable of sustaining excessive work, and never or very rarely shod. There was thief-logic for the last custom, as horseshoes are liable to be broken and to be cast; and this obliges the horseman to pull up and lose time, and even to be dependent upon the services of a farrier, which could not have suited

Pindarries flying for their lives before British dragoons. A Pindarrie prisoner, when questioned by an English officer why they did not shoe their horses, replied with a slight elevation of the nostrils, 'Do you think I would trust my life to a bit of iron?' "*

Their booty, their cattle, and their families were scattered over a wide region, in which they found protection amid jungles and hills, or in the fastnesses belonging to themselves or to those with whom they were either openly or secretly connected; but no where did they present any point of attack; and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of some of their strongholds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another generally of more desperate fortune, and therefore more eager for enterprise.†

The Pindarries never fought when they could run away: they considered it wisdom to plunder and fly, but folly to stay and fight. Even when acting as auxiliaries with the Mahrattas, their object was plunder, not war. They went before, indeed, but it was only by surprise or in defenceless provinces; they were, from their very origin, the scavengers of the Mahrattas; and though in the van, they had little more pretension to martial conduct and valour than had the birds and beasts of prey that followed in the rear. Their separate expeditions were called Lubburs, their leaders Lubburiahs. Foremost among these chiefs was Cheetoo, who first attracted the attention of the English towards the end of 1806. His power increased so rapidly that by 1811 he had 15,000 horse under his command.‡ For several years, at the appointed time, a like force assembled under his standard. In 1815 while we were occupied and embarrassed by the war in Nepaul, he crossed the Nerbuddah, ravaged the territory of the Deccan, from north to south, and appeared on the banks of the Kistna threatening the presidency of Madras. Finding the Kistna impassable, the freebooters took a turn eastward, plundering the country for several miles along the populous and fertile banks of the river, and committing every

* 'Our Indian Empire.' By Charles Macfarlane.
† Sir John Malcolm, 'Memoir of Central India.
‡ Charles Macfarlane, 'Our Indian Empire.'

kind of enormity. On approaching the frontier of Masulipatam, they shaped their course northward, and returned along the line of the Godavery and Wurda. They reached Cheetoo's head-quarters with an immense booty, and with utter impunity. In the spring of 1816 they again crossed the Nerbudda. This time the Company's territories did not escape the plunder and devastation. Some hundreds of villages in the Madras presidency were ransacked and then burned. Although we had troops scouring the country in all directions, the marauders escaped without the least brush, and they again got safely back to Cheetoo's quarters with an immense booty.* In the month of November of the same year they again crossed the Nerbudda in great force; but this time very many of them were surprised by our light troops or cut down by the wild people of the hills, who showed them no more mercy than they had been accustomed to receive at their hands. They were always beaten by the sepoys and our native cavalry, no matter how vast their own number or how small the number of their pursuers. A good many men and officers were exhausted and invalided by the exertions required to get up with them; but very few were either killed or wounded in actual combat. In 1817 Cheetoo was in close alliance with some Mahratta chiefs who had resolved to try once more the fortune of war with the Company. There were now times when mere handfuls of our troops had to sustain the attacks of numerous hosts, and as much valour and skill were called into play as in the early time of Lord Clive. The Marquis of Hastings, Commander-in-Chief, as well as Governor-General, took the field in person and directed the main operations of the campaigns. Never before had we moved such armies in India: that of the Bengal presidency, called the "Grand Army," counted 40,000 fighting men; that of Madras, called the "Army of the Deccan," numbered 70,000 fighting men; and the presidency of Bombay furnished a third and a considerable force, which was to advance from the side of Guzerat. The Pindarries were headed back wherever they attempted to cross our frontiers or those of our allies, and fierce dissensions broke out among their chiefs. They were soon pressed and pursued towards their own

* Henry T. Prinsep, Esq., 'Hist of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.'

haunts. Sir John Malcolm, with a corps of the grand army, being informed that Cheetoo, the most adroit of all the Lubburriahs, had fled to the westward, resolved to follow him up with vigour. A great Mahratta army interposed between Sir John and the robbers, but it was soon cut to pieces, and Cheetoo continued his flight, being deserted by most of his old followers. Other chiefs were exterminated with their bands, and others submitted and craved the protection of the laws, which they were bound to violate no more. Cheetoo, however, succeeded in baffling every effort made to overtake him, and he suddenly re-appeared in Malwa. Here the Bheels and Grassias were let loose upon him, and his band was nearly destroyed. Cheetoo, however, escaped the hill tribes, as he had so often evaded the English, and he wandered and skulked about with some 200 followers. When in this state of hopeless misery he was often advised to surrender to the English and trust to their mercy; but he was possessed by the idea that the English would transport him beyond the sea, and to him the sea was more hideous and dreadful than death. His horses were constantly saddled, and his men slept with the bridles in their hands ready to fly at any instant. After suffering several close hunts by parties sent out by Sir John Malcolm, Rajun, one of his most faithful and valuable adherents, abandoned him and made his submission. Yet after all this, Cheetoo found his way back into the Deccan, united himself with the Arabs and some of the fugitives of the Mahratta army, and renewed his plunder and devastation. But too many corps were on the watch for him to allow him a chance of the former impunity: his band was overtaken and completely destroyed, and it was clear that his own end was approaching. Nothing, however, could subdue Cheetoo's spirit or induce him to surrender. He was missed for a long time, no one knowing what had become of him. At length, in February, 1819, his well-known horse was discovered grazing near the margin of a forest not far from the fort of Aseerghur, saddled and bridled, and precisely in the state in which it was when Cheetoo had last been seen upon it. A bag of 250 rupees was found in the saddle, together with several seal-rings, and some letters from treacherous native chiefs. A search was made in the cover for the body; and at no great distance from the horse were found clothes

clotted with blood, fragments of human bones, and lastly, Cheetoo's head entire, with the features in a state to be recognized. The forest was much infested by tigers, and some of these ravenous animals had given him very appropriate death and burial. Such was the miserable end of one who shortly before had ridden at the head of 20,000 horse.

With Cheetoo ended the last of the Pindarries, and the spirit which had animated their vast lawless associations. Their name is now all that remains of them, for the sad traces of their devastations have entirely and long since disappeared under the established order, industry, and good government. "These freebooters," says Sir John Malcolm, "had none of the prejudices of caste, for they belonged to all tribes. They never had the pride of soldiers or of family, or of country, so that they were bound by none of those ties which among many of the communities in India assume an almost indestructible character. Other plunderers may arise from distempered times, but, as a body, the Pindarries are so effectually destroyed, that their very name is already nearly forgotten, though so few years are passed since it spread terror and dismay over all India." The long existence of the association had been disgraceful to our government. Within two short years, the Marquis of Hastings put an end to it, thus performing a service which entitles him to the highest honour, and which will be gratefully remembered by the people of India for many ages to come.

Immense improvements, and more especially in the condition of Central India, were effected during the administration of this generous, high-minded and right-hearted nobleman, who was most ably and zealously seconded by the Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone (who for more than 30 years never once quitted the country), Sir John Malcolm, and other excellent and distinguished men, whose merits have never been surpassed by any men in the Company's service since the days of Warren Hastings. In Malwa, which had suffered so much and so long from Mahrattas, Pindarries, and other hereditary and professional robbers, prosperity was restored in a wonderfully short space of time. The roofless and deserted villages were once more covered in and peopled; the increase of population in the towns was surprising. In less than four years the revenues of the state were nearly quad-

rupled, and the expenses of collection brought down from 40 to 15 per cent. The Grassias, the Sondwarrees, the Bheels, and all those predatory bands or tribes, were repressed, and the most vicious and depraved among them were gradually made sensible of the advantages and blessings attendant on a better course of life. From the territories of Bopaul to those of Guzerat, a spirit of industry and improvement was introduced. New villages rose everywhere, and forests which had long been deemed impenetrable now resounded with the woodman's axe, and were fast cleared on account of the profit derived from the timber required to rebuild villages, towns, and cities. On the side of Poonah, where Mr. Elphinstone conducted affairs with the spirit of a philanthropist and the genius of a true statesman, administrator, and legislator, the benefits accruing from the extension of our dominion was made equally apparent. Much that had been destroyed, swept away, utterly obliterated, by the wasteful, destructive Mahrattas, could not be suddenly restored, but much sprung at once into a new life, and the industrious populations were no longer disturbed and disheartened by the sounds of the vile Mahratta drum, which always announced pillage, devastation, and murder.

But there was another predatory horde, called the Ghoorkas, inhabitants of the mountainous regions of Nepaul, who were nominally subject to the Emperor of China, but were governed by a prince of their own tribe. These people had seized on some territories belonging to the British government, which they refused to give up, and had been guilty of some violent outrages during a negotiation with the English; so that a war with them was inevitable. The prince of Nepaul applied for assistance to the Chinese Emperor, Kea-king, who gave orders that an army should be sent to his aid; but when he became acquainted with the cause of the war, he declared that the Ghoorkas were in the wrong. He therefore refused to assist them, and revoked his orders for sending the troops.

The English were very unsuccessful in the early part of this contest, partly owing to the inability of their commanders, partly to the nature of the country in which it was carried on. The fact, however, that they had sustained several defeats, became known to the Mahrattas, who considered this as a favourable opportunity to make head against them; and Sindia

lost no time in forming an alliance with some of the Rajput princes, and with Runjeet Singh, the powerful ruler of the Siks, who had long since assumed the title of King of Lahore. The Siks had been gradually increasing in numbers since the

A Goorkha Chief.

fall of the empire, both in the Punjab, and the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, which, about the year 1770, had fallen under the dominion of a confederacy of Sik chieftains, one of whom was the grandfather of Runjeet Singh.

Runjeet was about twelve years old, when the death of his father left him in possession of a large territory, of which his mother assumed the government during his minority; and, being an ambitious, unprincipled woman, she entirely neglected the education of her son, as a means of retaining her own power; so that the boy was not even taught to read or write. She became, at length, so unpopular, that she was assassinated, some say with the connivance of her son, who assumed the government at the age of seventeen, a short time before the

fall of Tippoo Saib. It happened that Runjeet had performed some service for Shah Zeman, king of the Afghans, who, in return, invested him with the government of Lahore; and after the dethronement of that monarch, Runjeet asserted his independence, and, with the general consent of the Siks, took the title of King of Lahore, and soon established his authority over the whole of the Punjab.

The Siks were not, at this period, quite the barbarous fanatics which they had been in former days; but they were still a military nation, and but little civilised. They suffered their hair and beards to grow to a great length, and wore high turbans; but, with the exception of a large scarf, which persons of distinction usually displayed, thrown negligently over one shoulder, they did not encumber themselves with much clothing. Their arms were bows and matchlocks, the bow being so necessary an appendage to a man of rank, that on paying a visit of ceremony, he always had a finely ornamented one in his hand, and an embroidered quiver at his side.

Runjeet Singh being anxious to keep on friendly terms with the British government, concluded a treaty with an envoy sent to his court for that purpose, by which he agreed not to attempt to extend his territories to the east, beyond the boundary of the Sutlej river; but this treaty did not limit his ambition in other directions; and during the civil wars of the Afghans that followed the dethronement of Shah Shuja, he made great additions to his kingdom, both on the south and the west. The unfortunate Shuja, when he fled from Cabul, had at first sought shelter at Lahore, where he was detained for some time as a prisoner, and compelled to give up all his jewels; so that Runjeet Singh became the possessor of the famous diamond, Kohi-Noor, which signifies "the mountain of light." The murder of Futteh Khan, and consequent breaking up of the Afghan monarchy, opened the way for the further aggrandisement of the King of Lahore, who crossed the Indus, and possessed himself of Peshawur; soon after which, he became master of the beautiful valley of Kashmere. He was, therefore, a powerful monarch, and might, in conjunction with Sindia and the Peishwa, have proved a formidable foe, had not the British, by the termination of the Nepaulese war in their favour, found more leisure for watching and counteracting the hostile movements of the Mahrattas.

Bajee Rao had given his entire confidence to an unworthy favourite, named Trimbuckjee, who had an inveterate hatred to all Europeans; and in that spirit, instigated his master to pursue a most dishonourable course of conduct towards his English allies. At length, it happened that a Bramin, ambassador from one of the Indian courts to that of Poona, was assassinated by order of Trimbuckjee, in defiance of a guarantee for his safety given by the British government; and for this outrage, it was intimated to the Peishwa that he must either give up his minister as a prisoner to the English, or prepare for a war. He chose the former alternative; and Trimbuckjee was confined in the fortress of Tannah, in the Island of Salsette, from which he soon contrived to make his escape, and began to organize large bodies of Mahrattas and Pindarries, just about the time when the inroads of the latter into the British territories had determined the Governor-General to take active measures for their total extirpation.

The first step was to disable the Peishwa from giving them any support; and as he was in no condition to resist the British power, he was compelled to sign a fresh treaty, by which he made such concessions as deprived him of all claim to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta states. Sindia was, at the same time, required to enter into an engagement to assist in the warfare against the Pindarries; and, as he saw no other way of avoiding a war with the English, he was obliged to comply. Holkar, who had been the chief patron of the Pindarries, was dead, and his son, a mere youth, had not the same influence that had enabled his father to protect those lawless bands; so that they had but little chance of making a successful resistance. Their lands were surrounded; the passes by which they might have escaped, were guarded; and parties of them that were dispersed over the country were pursued, and great numbers of them were killed in the skirmishes that took place; while those who escaped, either perished in the jungles, or fell by the hands of the peasantry, who did not fail to use this opportunity of avenging themselves for the sufferings they had endured from these freebooters, who had long been so terrible to them.

The result of the Pindarrie war freed the country from a race of most formidable robbers; for those who survived, adopted a new course of life, and devoted their attention to

agricultural pursuits; so that, in time, the Pindarries, who still retained their name, were only known as industrious farmers.

While the war was still going on, the Peishwa had been secretly plotting against the English, with a hope of recovering all he had lost by the treaty of Poona. Bribes had been even offered to the Sepoys to induce them to desert from the British army; and, when there could no longer be any doubt that the Bramin prince was preparing for hostilities, a body of English troops was ordered to proceed at once to Poona. On hearing of this movement, Bajee Rao collected all his forces on the plain near his capital, where a desperate battle was fought; and the Mahrattas, though greatly superior in numbers, were driven from the field. The English then marched into Poona without opposition, and the Peishwa made a hasty retreat. He soon, however, rallied his forces; but was again defeated at Korygaum; and this second victory decided the contest.

Bajee Rao, finding there was no hope of re-establishing his authority, surrendered himself to the English, who allowed him to fix his residence at Beithoor, a place considered holy by the Hindūs, in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, a British station within the territory of Oude. Thither the fallen potentate was conducted under a suitable escort, a liberal pension being allowed for his support: and thus ended the Bramin dynasty. It was then resolved to restore the house of Satara to the throne, and the Raja, Pertab Sing, was enthroned with much ceremony, on the eleventh of April, 1818; but his territory was limited to a tract extending from Poona to Goa, not including the city of Poona, which, with the rest of the Mahratta country, was annexed to the British possessions in India, and an English resident officer was appointed to every district, invested with the powers of judge, magistrate, and collector of the revenues. The subordinate offices were conferred, with liberal salaries, on natives. All the principal stations were occupied by a strong military force, and great numbers of the irregular native troops that had served under Bajee Rao, were enlisted in the British service, and became good and faithful soldiers; for it is one of the peculiarities of the Hindū troops, that they serve with fidelity the master who pays them, without any scruples on the score of patriotism; which is a sentiment unknown among a people who have always been subject to

foreign dominion, and care little who governs them, provided they are protected, fed, and clothed.

Hill Village.

In making the new regulations, great care was taken not to shock the prejudices of the natives by any unnecessary interference with their laws and usages; while those who had suffered loss of property or employment by the change of government, were, as far as possible, provided for; and the villagers conciliated by the protection afforded them against the hordes of banditti, from which mountainous countries are seldom free.

The greatest enemies to the establishment of British ascendancy in the Mahratta country were the Bramins, who naturally opposed a revolution that destroyed the supremacy of their order, and thereby deteriorated their influence generally. Several insurrections broke out, headed by men of that class, some of whom being seized, were put to death by a military execution; after which the country was gradually tranquillized, and the benefits of the new system of government were sensibly felt. The farming of revenues, one of the greatest sources of

oppression in India, was abolished, and the collection of the rents left in the hands of the hereditary headmen of the villages, who were the government agents, as in the Madras presidency. The holders of jaghirs or feudal estates were to be left in possession of their lands, so long as they showed no disaffection towards the new rulers of the country.

The administration of the Marquis of Hastings was a period of general improvement in India. It was under the auspices of this nobleman, that the great canals which have perpetuated the names of Ali Merdan Khan and the Emperor Feroze Shah, were re-opened; and a new one, since finished, was projected, to run through the country east of the Jumna. The famous canal of Ali Merdan Khan, and the ceremony of its opening, have been already described. It passes through Delhi, and by means of an extensive aqueduct, supplies the Emperor's palace with constant streams of fresh water. In the space between the hills near Delhi and the palace, there are innumerable channels under ground, which conduct the water to the houses of the nobles, as well as to each division of the city; so that the whole community are bountifully supplied with it. Numerous mills have been erected on both these canals.

Many tracts of jungle have since been cleared and brought under cultivation, and the land has altogether become more valuable. The Governor-General also formed a new road, two hundred miles in length, from the commercial town of Mirzapore, on the Ganges, to that of Jubbulpore on the Nerbudda; a most useful work, since the generality of the roads in central India are impassable for wheel carriages during the greater part of the year, so that, on a failure of the crops, the poor people were sometimes reduced to a state of starvation, because there were no means of sending supplies from the more fertile districts, an evil that is remedied to a great extent by the new road of Mirzapore.

ABORIGINAL RACE OF INDIA.

OUR first travellers and settlers in the Peninsula were rather incurious, and too much given to take things upon trust without any examination or consideration of their own. The encouragement extended to all useful or curious inquiries by Mr. Warren Hastings, and afterwards the formation of the Asiatic Society of India, gave an impulse to research, and placed upon accessible records the discoveries and speculations which were made. But it was only by slow degrees that our pile of Indian knowledge was built up. For a very long space of time the Hindūs continued to be considered as the people who had originally stocked the country with its human inhabitants. The Moguls, the Turks and other Tartar races were clearly and unmistakably immigrants, but the Hindūs were believed to be children of the soil, and almost as ancient on it as the primæval mountains. The subject is interesting and important. In treating of it, we take as our principal guide the very recent essays of General Briggs.

The existence of a race of hill-people in different parts of India has long been known and frequently mentioned by writers on India; by some they have been considered the descendants of Hindūs degraded from their caste for misdemeanours: while others, hazarding the conjecture that these tribes were the aboriginal race, have not supported it by any proof that these communities had a common origin.

Fuller inquiries into their customs and institutions, into their physiological and philological peculiarities, have led to the deduction that these scattered tribes are the remains of the aboriginal, and once dominant, race of India.

It must be remembered that the area and population of

India are equal to that of the continent of Europe, deducting Russia and the countries north of the Baltic; and that there are great natural divisions of dialects, each extending to a population of several millions. The Hindūs, entering this vast country from the north, by slow degrees wrested nearly the whole from the inhabitants, whom they reduced to a state of most abject slavery. The earliest written authority which throws any light upon this inquiry, and the first proof of the truth of these statements, is found in the Vedas, which are assumed to have been compiled about the time of the entrance of the Israelites under Joshua into the land of Canaan.

In the introduction to the translation of the Rig Veda, Professor Wilson says of the Hindūs, "That they extended themselves from a more northern site, or that they were a northern race, is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used on more than one occasion in soliciting long life, when the worshipper asks for a hundred winters—a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair-complexioned people, at least comparatively so, and foreign invaders of India; as it is said that Indra divided the fields among his white-complexioned friends, after destroying the indigenous barbarians."

When the lawgiver Menu wrote, the conquering Hindūs had not penetrated further than the 22nd degree of north latitude. He describes the people who dwelt to the south as "barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown tongue;" here the barrenness of the still uncleared belt of forest, and the hardihood of its indigenous defenders, barred for a time the farther progress of the invading race.

The earliest traces of the Hindūs in the Deccan consist of monumental remains, which cannot have a date assigned to them previous to A.D. 450, and four or five centuries elapsed before they had penetrated so far south as Mysore. There, according to Wilks, they encountered the Curumbas in the 10th century, and drove them to find shelter in the forest of Canara on the western coast, where to this day they are found cultivating the land in the condition of serfs.

The invasion of the eastern coast of the Peninsula took place simultaneously with that of the western side, but the conquest was not so complete: the inhabitants, driven from the sea coast and level country, took refuge in the hills, where they still retain a partial independence. The conquered lands

were divided among the invaders, the inhabitants who remained being reduced to the degraded state of serfs of the soil, or to become the outcast watchmen of villages.

"One cannot help being struck," writes General Briggs, by the very slow progress the Hindūs appear to have made in spreading themselves over the country. From the time of the Vedas they had not crossed the Vindhya range in six centuries and a half. Ten centuries more elapsed ere they turned that barrier on the east and west, leaving that savage belt unsubdued, and Gondwana intact: and five centuries more passed ere they had reached the utmost limits of the Mysore country. This may be ascribed to several causes. First, the barren forests and wildernesses were not inviting. They held out no immediate prospect of advantage, and it was not till pressed by the increase of their population, perhaps, that the Hindūs encroached on the neighbouring countries. Unlike the Mohammedans or the Christians, they were not bound to spread the doctrines of their faith, for, like the Jews, they received no proselytes. The proximate inhabitants possessed no wealth to induce the invaders to plunder them; nor do we know for certain that hordes from their original country followed and pressed them onward, as was the case in Europe, where circumstances were altogether different."

In the Institutes of Menu there are passages which leave no doubt what was to be the condition of the conquered aborigines: "The Chandala, or impure, can never be relieved from bondage, though he be emancipated by a master. How can he whom God has destined to be the slave of Brahmans ever be released from his destiny by man?"*

By the same code they were ordered to dwell outside of the towns, to possess no property except dogs and asses, to use only such clothes as were left by the dead, to have no settled home, and to fill the office of public executioner, in return for which service they were permitted to retain the bedding, clothes, and ornaments of those executed.

To this extremity of degradation the native people were reduced, who, long before the irruption of the Hindū hordes, had made considerable advances in civilization.

In every part of India there are remains of their works of art, fortified buildings, and monuments; and even the Hindūs

* Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India, by Lieut.-General Briggs. F.R.S. Delivered at the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

themselves refer the excavation of caves and temples in the Deccan to the period of the aboriginal kings. "They must have entered India at a very remote period, and probably occupied it, as man appears to have spread elsewhere, in successive hordes, under successive leaders—in some cases as hunters, in others as herdsmen. It seems likely that the former preceded the latter; because, in the first place, there always has been, and still continues, an inveterate hostility between the two branches of the same race, and because the latter certainly occupied and cleared the land, and established principalities; while the former mainly subsisted on the chase, and followed a much less civilized life."*

Of these principalities, that established by the Gonds in Gondwana, a district containing 70,000 square miles, still exists, though somewhat broken in power by the inroads of the Mahrattas at a recent period. It contains a vast population differing in physiognomy, and in religion, from the Hindūs, and still retaining their primitive habits under the rule of their indigenous chiefs.

Besides these, and others who have maintained a show of independence, there are remains of this race scattered over the whole of India, living in the condition prescribed for them by the law of Menu, attached to the soil as serfs, or employed as village watchmen, and executioners, dwelling apart from the Hindū villagers, and possessing little clothing except what decency requires.

The peculiar customs of this race, so entirely opposed to those of the Hindūs, would alone be sufficient proof that they had a distinct origin. Unlike the Hindūs they have no caste, their widows are permitted to contract a second marriage, they indulge in the use of fermented liquors to excess, and have no aversion to the flesh of the cow or the buffalo. In their religion there is even a greater contrast; they offer live victims in sacrifice at all religious ceremonials, usually to an invisible deity, but sometimes to some large stone or shapeless log, besmeared with oil and decorated with flowers.

Captain Sherwil, speaking of the religion of one of their tribes, the Sonthals, says, "they pray to their deity to avert the evils of famine and disease; and to preserve them from wild beasts and venomous reptiles. They believe their gods

* Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India, by Lieut.-General Briggs, F.R.S.

can only be appeased or propitiated by living sacrifice; and the blood of the victim is eagerly gathered in small vessels retained for the purpose by the votaries." Another tribe, the Mirs, though they have embraced the Mohammedan faith, still offer sacrifices to deities unknown to the Hindūs; among others to the personified goddess of small-pox, and of other diseases.

Professor Wilson observes that, "the Bheels, and other hill tribes, are constantly accused by Sanscrit writers of the 11th and 12th centuries, as addicted to the sanguinary worship of Aghori, which required human sacrifices."*

This accusation has proved well founded, and still the practice continues among the Khonds, who annually offer human victims to propitiate the deity presiding over agriculture, and also whenever cholera or small-pox is rife among them, or any misfortune befalls the person or family of their patriarch. In Gondwana, by the exertions of the Hindū chiefs, these revolting sacrifices have of late years been abolished.

These tribes have no hereditary priesthood, corresponding to the Bramins among the Hindūs: their priests are self-elected from any class and depend upon their skill in magic, sorcery, divination, and medicine, for their maintenance.

In morality and fidelity the aborigines are honourably distinguished from their conquerors: "A man of the ancient race scorns an untruth; and seldom denies the commission even of a crime which he may have perpetrated, though it lead to death. He is true to his promise, hospitable and faithful to his guest; devoted to his superiors; and always ready to sacrifice his own life in the service of his chief. He is reckless of danger and knows no fear."†

Employed as rural police they are universally trusted to carry the revenue from the outlying districts to the towns: in the capacity of detectives they show great sagacity in the pursuit of offenders: having been accustomed to hunt down game in the forests by tracking its footprints, they pursue the same method in regard to thieves, who usually go barefoot, and when once shown the footprints will rarely fail to apprehend the delinquents. In the performance of these duties they usually show no regard to family ties, being seldom

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii. p. 204, note.

† Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India by Lieutenant-General Briggs, F.R.S.

known to screen even their own relatives, if found to be principals or accomplices.

When pains have been taken, even with the most uncivilized tribes, they have rapidly improved in condition and become industrious cultivators of the soil. In 1801 the Sonthals had a tract of land assigned to them by the government, in which they increased the number of villages in thirty years from forty to nearly fifteen hundred, and their own population from three thousand to eighty thousand. Similar results have followed from attempts to civilize the Garrows and other tribes: one of these, the Kolis, seek employment as porters and day labourers on the sea coast, and perhaps from them the term "Coolie" has been derived, and applied generally to all labourers. The illiterate state of the aborigines may probably be accounted for by the Hindūs being forbidden by law to impart the art of writing, and science, which they introduced into India, to the native population. So rigidly has this command been obeyed that, in a tribe located a few miles north of Madras, the women were found unable to count higher than four or five, and said, with infants at their breasts, that they were only three or four years old. They were ignorant also of any religion and had no idea of time. Another tribe in the same district, when questioned by Captain Newbold, said that "they knew not whether there was a God or not: never having been instructed."

The physiognomy of the hill races of India is of the Scythic or Mongol type; the face is large and wide, inclined to roundness rather than oval, the nose broad and flat with the bridge depressed, the eyes generally blue, mouth large, the lips thick and protruding, the upper lip long with small moustache, beard almost wanting, and hair long and shaggy. These features vary in some degree in different tribes, and in different localities, but generally there is a marked resemblance, such that there can be little doubt that all are closely affiliated and have one common origin. Another proof of this is derived from the dialects of the languages spoken by these tribes, which have clearly a common stock. That accomplished orientalist, Dr. Rost, finds them closely allied to the Tartaric dialects of Thibetan, in which opinion he is supported by other philologists who have studied these languages.

Many of these tribes have distinguished themselves by daring deeds in arms and by the desperate resistance they

have made to the Hindū and Mohammedan invaders. The Bedars stormed the fort of Nijkul in Mysore, (into which Hyder Ali had thrown 3000 of his best troops,) after the Mahrāttas had attempted to carry it and failed, in a style of gallantry which excited the admiration of the whole of the besieging army.

At another time they defended a hill fort against the same chieftain, and compelled him to raise the siege: and when he returned to the attack two years after, he succeeded in capturing the fort only through the treachery of a Mohammedan Santon, who in the interval had obtained entrance to the fort, and thus found means to open the gates.

The Bheels often succeeded in plundering the baggage of the Mahratta army, and in some cases actually received money for a safe conduct through their hills. In 1818, they demanded 20,000*l*. for the same privilege from Sir Thomas Hislop, on the occasion of the return of two divisions of the Madras army, and, on being refused, prepared to defend the passes, which were not forced till after some severe fighting.

"The aborigines of the Carnatic," writes General Briggs, "were the sepoys of Clive and Coote. A few companies of the same stock joined the former great captain from Bombay, and fought the battle of Plassey, in Bengal, which laid the foundation of our Indian empire. They have since distinguished themselves in the corps of pioneers and engineers, not only in India, but in Ava, Afghanistan, and in the celebrated siege of Jelalabad. An unjust prejudice against them has grown up in the armies of Madras and Bombay, where they have done best service, produced by the feelings of contempt for them existing among the Hindū and Mohammedan sepoys.

"They have no prejudices themselves, are always ready to serve abroad, and embark on board ship, and I believe no instance of mutiny has occurred among them. It is to be regretted that separate regiments of this race are not more generally enlisted."

Of the future conversion of these races to Christianity there is more hope than of the Hindūs. Being outcasts, without religion, and with little idea of a future state, their minds are free from the prejudices and shackles of caste, which so powerfully oppose the missionary efforts to convert the Hindū Buddhists. The task has been begun at Bombay, and on the opposite coast, as also in Ava, and considerable progress

been made among them. The field is a vast one: from the snows of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin millions of these aborigines are dwelling in every tract of hill and jungle, ancient heritors of the land, crushed and barbarized by the usurping Hindūs.

LORD AMHERST.

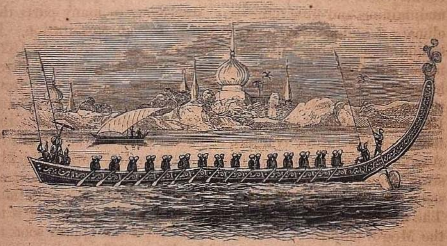
The Marquis of Hastings, in 1823, was succeeded in the government of India by Lord Amherst, who had been employed, a few years previously, in conducting an embassy to the Court of Peking, on the subject of grievances sustained by the British merchants at Canton. India was, at this period, in a state of unusual tranquillity, owing to the wise and successful measures of the late Governor-General; but scarcely had Lord Amherst assumed the control of affairs, when the English became involved in a war with the Burmese, which originated in the following circumstances:—

In the province of Arracan, belonging to the Burman empire, were extensive tracts of country cultivated by a race of people who were held in bondage by the sovereign. These slaves having long suffered under the most oppressive treatment, had, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, begun to emigrate in vast numbers, seeking shelter in the British territories, where they were reduced to the greatest distress, and many perished from want; until the government of Calcutta took their case into consideration, and resolved to settle them on the waste lands of Chittagong, a province adjoining Arracan. In the mean time, provision was made for the relief of their immediate necessities, until, by degrees, they were established in villages constructed by themselves, and had cleared tracts of forest land for cultivation.

Many complaints were made, from time to time, by the Burmese government, respecting the protection afforded to the refugees, who were claimed as slaves of the state; but the British rulers did not think themselves justified in expelling, by force, a large body of people who had come to them for

shelter from oppression; nor would it have been easy or politic to have done so, as they amounted to many thousands of families, who had cleared and were cultivating a vast deal of land, previously unproductive.

Many and violent were the disputes that arose at various times between the British government and the Court of Ava, respecting the emigrants; but no serious hostilities occurred, till after the arrival of Lord Amherst, at Calcutta, when the Burmese, without any previous declaration of war, took possession of a small island, near Chittagong, belonging to the English, and committed other acts of aggression, which obliged the British authorities to send an army into the Burman empire. A war was thus commenced, which lasted about two years, and was carried on entirely within the dominions of the King of Ava, who was obliged, in the end, to make peace on such terms as were dictated by the English, who acquired by the treaty a large addition of territory on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal.



Burmese War-Boat.

This Burman or Burmese war opened to our knowledge many curious regions and various remarkable people, as Peguans, Shans, Cassais, Cachars, and others, of whom accounts will be found in works relating to Ava and Siam.*

* We may be permitted to refer to a volume in Bohn's Illustrated Library, entitled "China, with some account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam and Anam." MDCCCLIII.

The war put us in possession of Arracan, which gave us an admirable mountain frontier, and amply provided for the security from Burmese interference with our Indian territories on that side; while the possession of the whole of the Tenasserim provinces, and of the islands which lie off that coast and off the coast of Arracan, gives increased security to our commercial navigation, opens the road to an inland commerce with the Siamese and other distant people, and places at our disposal teak forests enormous in extent and productive of the very best timber. The whole country of Tenasserim is known to be rich in minerals: gold is found in some of the rivers; iron-ore of good quality exists in abundance in some parts, and extensive coal-measures have been recently discovered on the banks of the Tenasserim river. The coal is said to be generally of good quality, and the best kind is below the last rapids of the river, so that it can be carried down to the coast at a moderate expense. All the advantages anticipated from a possession of these regions have not been realized: the country does not yet pay the expenses the Company incurs in maintaining and governing it. Moreover, in many parts the climate is highly prejudicial to the European constitution. It should appear, however, that since its cession to us in 1826 important improvements have been effected, and that there has been a very considerable influx of population from the upper part of Ava and from various adjacent regions. Elephants, rhinoceros, and all the animals common to the forests on the Lower Ganges, are also found in the forests of Assam. The remains of cities and temples, rather thickly strewed over the country, seem to indicate the existence, at some distant period, of a numerous and wealthy population. The great emperor Akbar conquered Assam, and added it to the Mogul empire of India, but his successors appear soon to have lost all control over it, and by frequent floods, invasions, internal revolutions, and the inroads of the mountaineers, Assam became reduced to a deplorable state. Not very long before our first war with those turbulent, cruel, and ambitious people, it fell under the dominion of the Burmese, who treated the inhabitants in so savage a manner that they gladly seized the opportunity of the war to place themselves under British protection.

The people consist of Hindūs, Mohammedans, and a few

Christians, descended from the Portuguese. They are in general exceedingly poor, and many of them are slaves. The soil and climate of Assam are favourable for the growth of the tea-plant, which is already cultivated there to some extent, by a company formed for that purpose.

Before the termination of the Burmese war our arms found active employment at Bhurtpoor, in the upper provinces of Bengal. Our old ally the Rajah died early in 1825, leaving his son, Bulwant Sing, a boy of tender years, to succeed him. Knowing that the succession to the musnud could not fail of being disputed in his own family, the dying Rajah had implored our protection, and Sir David Ochterlony had pledged his word to support him. The Rajah was scarcely cold ere Doorjun Sal, cousin to Bulwant Sing, having made a party among the troops, murdered the uncle and guardian of the young nabob, and seized the person of the helpless boy. Sir David Ochterlony would have proceeded instantly against the usurper, but was not allowed to do so. In a very short time all that part of India was thrown into confusion. Doorjun Sal quarrelled with his own brother, who had aided him in his usurpation. This brother, after an unsuccessful attempt to make himself master of Bhurtpoor, raised an independent standard in the fortress of Deeg, subjected or plundered the neighbourhood, and invited adventurers of all kinds to share his fortunes. A battle was fought near Deeg, and the Company's own frontiers were thrown into a ferment. Many of the Company's own subjects took up arms, some to join one and some the other of the two contending brothers; in fact, anarchy was threatening to return once more to the regions from which she had been expelled by the extensive and successful military operations of the Marquis of Hastings against the Mahrattas and the Pindarries. At last, in December, 1825, General Lord Combermere, our new commander-in-chief, sat down before Bhurtpoor with an army of 20,000 men and a field of more than a hundred pieces of artillery. The place was so strong that in the year 1805 the brave Lord Lake had found himself under the necessity of giving up a siege. The Jauts, who composed the garrison, then as now are the finest people in bodily advantages and apparent martial spirit whom one can see in India, and ever since Lord Lake's failure they had not only regarded themselves as

invincible, but had been so esteemed by the greater part of the Mahrattas, Rajpoots, &c., who had always held up their example as the rallying point and main encouragement to resistance to the British. Bishop Heber, who was travelling in the country just before our second siege, in passing through Malwah saw magic lanterns, or gallantee-shows, like those which used to be carried about our streets by the Savoyards, and these shows, exhibited at the fairs and in the towns of the wild district of Malwah, represented, among other patriotic and popular scenes, the red-coated British and Sepoys driven back in dismay from the ramparts of Bhurtpoor, and the victorious Jauts pursuing them sabre in hand. Their confidence was still very high, and they were well protected by broad deep ditches and by a tough mud wall of enormous thickness, upon which our artillery could make little or no impression. Recourse was had to mining, but our Indian armies were not yet sufficently provided with sappers and miners and with other men properly trained to siege work, and without these the science and skill of the engineer and artillery officers can never have fair play. Mine after mine was exploded without producing any very important result. A shot fired by the Jauts set fire to one of our tumbrils, and 20,000 lbs. weight of gunpowder blew up in our camp, where the tumbrils had been imprudently crowded together. On the 17th of January a mighty mine was dug and crammed with powder, and the following day was fixed for the storm. The explosion of the mine was to be the signal for the attack. With the single exception, it is believed, of the tremendous explosion made under General Pasley for clearing the obstructions to the line of the Dover railway, and opening the road by the Shakspeare Cliff, no mine can bear comparison in magnitude or quantity of powder with this mine under the north-east angle of Bhurtpoor. At eight o'clock in the morning the match was applied to the train, and with terrific effect: the whole of the salient angle and part of the stone cavalier behind it were lifted into the air, which for some minutes was as dark and black as the darkest night;—all of the Jaut garrison there stationed were blown to the winds or buried under the ruins. The breach was made, and more than breach enough, but owing to the defective construction of the mine, many of the ejected stones and masses of earth fell upon the head of our column of attack, killing numbers of our

men. The stones fell so thickly about Lord Combermere himself, that Brigadier-General MacCombe was knocked down by his side, and two sepoys were killed within a few feet of the spot where his lordship stood. The troops, however, rushed on to the assault with admirable spirit, and in less than three hours after the signal was given the whole of Bhurtpoor was in our possession, and the British union flag floating in triumph on the outer wall. Brigadier-General Sleigh, who commanded the cavalry, had taken excellent measures to prevent the escape of Doorjun Sal, and when that usurper, with 160 select horse, attempted to force a passage, he was made prisoner by some of our cavalry. One of his wives and two of his sons were taken with him. They were all sent prisoners to Allahabad, where they were liberally supported by the Company, lodged in spacious apartments, and allowed to see society. The impenetrable fortress, as it had been considered ever since Lord Lake's failure, was now laid low and utterly destroyed, the ruin being completed by the monsoon rains. Deeg and all the other fortresses within the Bhurtpoor Rajah's dominions surrendered immediately, and were occupied by British garrisons; the Jauts and their fighting associates returned quietly to their homes, and resumed the care of their well-cultivated fields and gardens, and the young Rajah, Bulwant Sing, was reinstated under the protection of the British Government.

The attention of all India had been fixed on the siege of Bhurtpoor. All the surrounding principalities were in a ferment, and most of them would have been up in arms if Lord Combermere had not succeeded, or even if he had not been rapid in his achievement. "Should he fail," wrote Bishop Heber, "it is unhappily but too true that all northern and western India, that every man who owns a sword and can buy or steal a horse, will be up against us, less from disliking us than in the hope of booty." It is also to be remarked that the Ameers of Scinde were again becoming troublesome, and that suspicions were entertained as to the intentions of the rulers of Nepaul, who appear really to have had some correspondence or understanding, as well with the court of Ava as with the usurper of Bhurtpoor. During a good part of Lord Amherst's administration the army of India was kept up to the stupendous amount of an effective force of 274,000 men.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

LORD AMHERST was succeeded in the government of India, in 1827, by Lord William Bentinck, whose administration was distinguished by several acts of great importance, one of which was the suppression of those fearful associations of assassins known under the name of Thugs.

We are about to open a page in the history of mankind fearful beyond the ordinary records of crime—to treat of a race of miscreants spread over the whole peninsula of India, who made a trade of assassination, whose creed was murder. The superstitions of the Thugs are of Hindū origin, but the profession of faith seems not to have been limited to any one class of religionists; for among the Thugs of Southern India the greater portion were Mohammedans, who superadded to the teaching of the Koran, which they strictly observed in other respects, the worship of the Hindū patroness of the Thugs, the Goddess of Destruction, who, they believe, influences their fates in this world, and for obedience to whose orders Allah will not punish in the next.

Originally, the Thugs were Hindūs exclusively, and of one caste, by whom Mohammedans were first admitted as proselytes, after which restrictions were one by one removed, till all castes, and even the Chandala, were admitted to the association of Thuggee.

The date of the rise of this lawless race cannot be assigned with any accuracy. The Thugs trace their origin back to the times when divinities dwelt on earth, and adduce the sculptures on the walls of the caves of Ellora, believed by them to have been cut by some demons who knew the secrets of the trades of all mankind, as evidences of their antiquity. There, they say, all the secrets of Thuggee are

sculptured: the inveigler sitting on the same mat with the traveller, worming out his secrets and endeavouring to win his confidence; stranglers and their victims; the body being dragged to the grave which the sexton Thug is digging with the sacred pickaxe. Lest these statements should be controverted by the evidence of observation, it is added that these things can be seen only by those who have been initiated in the trade there delineated.

The earliest European traveller who alludes to practices which recent investigations have identified with the profession of Thuggee is Thevenot, who, in describing the dangers of the road from Delhi to Agra, says, "One may meet with tigers, panthers, and lions upon it; and one had best, also, have a care of robbers, and, above all things, not to suffer anybody to come near one upon the road. The cunningest robbers in the world are in that country. They use a certain slip with a running noose, which they can cast with so much sleight about a man's neck when they are within reach of him, that they never fail, so that they strangle him in a trice. They have another cunning trick, also, to catch travellers with. They send out a handsome woman upon the road, who, with her hair disheveled, seems to be all in tears, sighing and complaining of some misfortune which she pretends has befallen her. Now, as she takes the same way that the traveller goes, he easily falls into conversation with her, and finding her beautiful, offers her his assistance, which she accepts; but he hath no sooner taken her up behind him on horseback but she throws the snare about his neck and strangles him, or at least stuns him until the robbers, who lie hid, come running to her assistance, and complete what she hath begun. But besides that, there are men in those quarters so skilful in casting the snare, that they succeed as well at a distance as near at hand; and if an ox or any other beast belonging to a caravan run away, as sometimes it happens, they fail not to catch it by the neck."

It is surprising that during an intercourse with India of nearly two centuries, the English should have remained in ignorance of the existence and habits of a body whose practices were so destructive. Up to the time of the storming of Seringapatam, in 1799, the British government knew nothing of the Thugs; and when, shortly after, a whole band was apprehended near Bangalore, they were treated as dacoits,

and no suspicion arose that they were a distinct class of hereditary plunderers and murderers. At length, the apprehension of several vile gangs near Arcot led to inquiries, from which the habits, artifices, and combinations of these delinquents became known. By an offer of a free pardon on making full disclosures of all they knew concerning the system and individuals, many of the Thugs were induced to turn approvers, from whose evidence, given at a succession of trials before a special commission appointed to put down Thuggee, the following account of this singular brotherhood is compiled.

Like all other callings in India, that of a Thug is hereditary, and little or no difficulty seems to have been found in perpetuating the succession. By a progressive course of initiation, the Thug child is taught to overcome the natural repugnance which exists in the human breast to take the life of a fellow-creature, unless under some great excitement. At first he would be taken with a gang, mounted on a pony, as if on a journey for trade or pleasure, and carefully kept out of the way when the darker scenes of murder were enacted. After a while he is allowed to know that the party is engaged in robbery, to which he is easily won by receiving a share of its profits. By degrees the pupil is allowed further insight into the doings of his companions; and step by step passes through the various grades of scout and sexton, till he is qualified for the high office of a strangler.

A Thug approver relates an affecting story of the effects which a too precipitate disclosure of the frightful truth produced on a lad of fourteen, named Kurkora, who had accompanied a party of Thugs on a murdering expedition.

"We fell in with five Sikhs; and when we set out before daylight in the morning, Hursooka, who had been already on three expeditions, was ordered to take the bridle, and keep the boy in the rear, out of sight and hearing. The boy became alarmed and impatient, got away from Hursooka, and galloped up at the instant the '*Ihirneé*,' or signal for murder, was given. He heard the screams of the men, and saw them all strangled. He was seized with a trembling, and fell from his pony; he became immediately delirious, was dreadfully alarmed at the turbans of the murdered men, and, when any one touched or spoke to him, talked wildly about the murders,

screamed as if in a sleep, and trembled violently. We could not get him forward, and, after burying the bodies, Aman, myself, and a few others, sat by him while the gang went on; we were very fond of him, and tried all we could to tranquillize him, but he never recovered his senses, and before evening he died. I have seen many instances of feelings greatly shocked at the sight of the first murder, but never one so strong as this."

One of the causes which tended to disarm the suspicion of the British authorities, was the apparent pursuit of agriculture among the Thugs: they tilled their lands and sowed seed, and seemed to be depending upon honest industry for subsistence. This acted as a screen to their more questionable pursuits, and during the absence of the men on a marauding expedition, the females of the village attended to the fields and harvested the crops. Instances have occurred of a Thug becoming a trader and taking a shop in the bazaar of a principal town, engaging in extensive business, and gaining respect among the merchants and people of the place. Temporary absences on the business of Thuggee would be satisfactorily accounted for on the plea of travelling to purchase cloths in distant districts, and on their return, if any notice was taken, it would be observed that the goods they had brought back came from a distance, and were mostly valuable; if asked about them, they would mention the names of cities in which they had purchased them, and from their knowledge of localities, ran little risk of being detected by chance questions.

The name of "Thug," by which these murderers are best known to Europeans, signifies "deceiver:" their more common appellation, in Southern India especially, is "Phunsigar," or strangler; the former has relation to the insidious arts by by which they strive to win the confidence of their intended victims, the latter to the mode of assassination. They usually set out on their expeditions in gangs of from fifty to two hundred subdivided into smaller parties of ten or twenty; travel on parallel lines of road, or at intervals of some miles, prepared to act in concert by means of scouts thrown out from the flanks of parallel parties, or in front and rear if travelling on the same line of road. By these communications they are able to transmit intelligence of the approach of any valuable convoy or wealthy travellers, and concentrate the whole gang

at a given point when necessary. When on the road they usually assume the guise of traders or inoffensive travellers, and if successful in their early enterprises travel on horseback and make great pretensions to wealth and station: at such times they will straggle into a village and make their way to the inn, appearing not to recognize or have any connexion with each other; one of them then endeavours to win the confidence of any chance traveller who may be staying at the same place, and to find out his intended route and the amount of property he has with him: the Thug will then offer to accompany him, and advise that others if possible should be found going the same way for the sake of mutual protection: companions are of course easily obtained who are desirous of the security which numbers usually afford to travellers, and all set out together. If, however these advances are declined, they follow their intended victim at a little interval, contrive to get ahead of him by diverging from the main road, and lie in ambush till he passes, when he is attacked, a noose or sash thrown round his neck, and suffocated. When allowed to accompany the traveller, they place themselves one on either side, and, when the coast is clear, one adroitly throws the sash, in which a peculiar slip knot has been tied, ever the victim's head, and passes the other end to his comrade, who rapidly draws it tight, while a third accomplice stationed close behind seizes the legs of the victim and throws him forward to the ground, when, if not already dead, he is dispatched by kicks in the most vital parts, by which means all tell-tale blood-shed is avoided. During the attack, every possible precaution is taken to guard against a surprise: scouts are thrown out all round, and should any one approach without having been previously seen, they have recourse to some artifice to prevent discovery; the nearest scout will throw himself on the ground in a pretended fit, and thus endeavour to excite the sympathy of the traveller and detain him till the corpse is disposed of: failing this, they will cover the body with a cloth and feign to be lamenting the sickness or death of a comrade.

In this way they have been known to travel for days with the person they have purposed to murder, till an opportunity they deemed sufficiently favourable offered: having selected a spot, usually near a jungle, or a dry watercourse, they destroy their victim, and rapidly dig a hole with a pickaxe, three or

four feet in depth, into which the body is thrown, face downwards, after having been stabbed through on each side under the armpits, and gashed deeply in various parts; the double object of this is to guard against any chance of recovery, and to prevent the inflation of the body from the confinement of gases generated by decomposition, which might cause fissures on the surface and attract wild dogs and jackalls who would disinter the corpse, and lead to the discovery of the murder. Sometimes, when the booty obtained has not equalled their expectation, they have vented their disappointment by dislocating all the limbs of the corpse, and otherwise outraging it. In some districts of India, as in the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna, where wells are numerous in the fields for the purposes of irrigation, the body is thrown down into them, a practice which led to the detection of several bands of Thugs in the years 1809 and 1810, when as many as thirty bodies were found in different wells. The mode of destruction adopted by the Thugs obviating the shedding of blood, by the stains of which nearly every murder is detected, and at the same time preventing cries for help, throws a veil of mystery over their crimes. Should an intended victim, which rarely has happened, escape from the deadly noose and avoid strangulation, he has little chance of avoiding the scouts of the gang, who are armed with swords, and do not scruple to cut down or stab any one who has slipped through the grasp of the stranglers.

These proceedings of the Thugs are facilitated by the use of a peculiar language, called Moor, known only to themselves, and by a code of Masonic signs, by which they are enabled to recognise a member of their fraternity wherever they may meet: also, when on the road, they use a variety of signals to convey intelligence to each other at a distance—drawing the back of the hand along the chin telegraphs the approach of a stranger; putting the hand over the mouth and drawing it gently down, implies that the immediate cause of alarm is past. If the leading party wants reinforcement, they make certain marks on the road which informs those behind them of their need; where the road divides, those in advance intimate to those who are following the direction they have taken by strewing a few leaves by the way side, and if they wish to hasten their movements, draw a line in the dust, and

place two stones at the end one upon the other: by similar silent signals every necessary information is conveyed.

One of the most curious of the Thug superstitions is connected with the tool they employ to excavate the graves of their victims. Believing themselves to be engaged in the service of a divinity, Kalee, they regard the instruments of murder as holy, and take the greatest care in their fabrication. The pickaxe is held by them in the highest veneration, and is consecrated to its appointed duty with great ceremony: a lucky day is fixed upon, on which the leader of the gang proceeds to the smith's forge, where, with closed doors, and every precaution against intrusion, the implement is made. After this, it must be consecrated, which is done by a man well versed in the traditions of the Thugs. He receives the pickaxe in a brazen dish, and washes it first in water, next in sugar and water, then in sour milk, and lastly in ardent spirits: it is then marked with seven spots of red lead and replaced in the dish with a cocoa nut, cloves, sandal wood, and sugar: these articles, with the exception of the cocoa nut, are next burned, and the pickaxe passed seven times through the flame, after which, the gang leader takes the cocoa nut and endeavours to divide it with one blow of the pickaxe, upon the success or failure of which all depends: failure vitiates the whole of the previous ceremonies; success completes the consecration of the tool. Upon this the spectators prostrate themselves before it, after which it is handed over to the leader, who must be a tried Thug, and he either places it in a well or buries it in a retired spot till wanted for its destined use. On this point the Thugs have a curious belief that the pickaxe will come of itself out of the well at the bidding of the man who placed it there; the informers were most confident in their assertion of this miraculous power, and scorned the suggestion that it was accomplished by sleight of hand, or was the result of a clever juggling trick. When employed to dig the grave of a murdered man, should the pickaxe fall from the hands of the sexton Thug, the whole gang is panic-stricken: they regard this as the worst of all evil omens, betokening the death of the man who dropped it within the year, and disasters to the whole gang, who are henceforth regarded as doomed men, and shunned by all true Thugs as having lost their caste. Another use of the pickaxe is to add solemnity to an oath, and

the Thugs believe that the most horrible of deaths, within a few days, will be the fate of any one who shall dare to forswear himself on one properly consecrated.

Though murder is the creed of these miscreants, indiscriminate slaughter is guarded against by some curious restrictions; it is deemed unlucky to kill certain classes and castes: washermen and poets, oil-venders and musicians, blacksmiths and carpenters, Ganges water-carriers and maimed men are among the protected classes. As a rule, a Thug will not take the life of a woman, though the temptation of great booty sometimes neutralizes this feeling of repugnance to murder a female, yet even then a Mussulman is usually got to commit the deed which a strict Hiudū Thug will shrink from. One of the informers tells the following tale of temptation resisted by the aid of the charms of beauty: "I and my cousin were with a gang of 150 Thugs, on an expedition through Rajputana, about thirteen years ago, when we met with a handmaid of the Peishwa Bajee Rao on her way from Poona to Cawnpore. We intended to kill her and her followers; but we found her very beautiful; and after having her and her party three days within our grasp, and knowing that they had a lac and a half of rupees' worth of property, in jewels and other things with them, we let her and all her party go; we had talked with her and felt love towards her, for she was very beautiful." The sacred cow is also permitted to bring immunity to its possessor, but if he can be persuaded to part with it by the arts of an accomplice, who will make a tempting offer to get rid of this bar to their proceedings, the late owner is no longer considered a privileged person.

We have already mentioned that the office of a strangler is one of distinction among the Thugs, and only a tried and practised hand eligible to it. After a long noviciate, during which the Thug has passed through the lower grades of scout and sexton, and given evidence of firmness and ability, he is initiated in the mysteries of his future occupation by an experienced strangler, who selects a favourable opportunity for the beginner's first essay. If the omens are favourable, the tutor or gooroo takes his pupil to the spot, ties a peculiar knot in the sash or roomal, and delivers it to the incipient strangler, who casts it over the neck of the victim (who is surprised, if possible, in his sleep, that the young beginner may not be

embarrassed by difficulties), and with the aid of the older Thug, quickly completes the deed. From henceforth he is bound to his instructor by the strongest ties, and will rather betray his father than the gooroo who introduced him to the honours of his profession.

After the completion of the deed, a solemn feast is held, at which, after various ceremonies, goor or sugar is distributed to the higher grades of Thugs, who have been previously initiated, the effect of which is believed by them to give an irresistible taste for bloodshed. A Thug who was reproached by Captain Sleeman, the chief commissioner, for an atrocious murder, replied, "We all feel pity [illegible] times; but the goor changes our nature; it would change the nature of a horse. Let any man once taste of that goor, and he wi[illegible] a Thug, though he [illegible] all the trades and have all the wealth of the world. I never wanted food: my mother's family was opulent—her relations high in office. I have been high in office myself, and became so great a favourite wherever I went that I was sure of promotion; yet I was always miserable when absent from my gang, and was obliged to return to Thuggee. My father made me taste of that fatal goor when I was yet a mere boy, and if I were to live a thousand years, I never should be able to follow any other trade."

Besides these miscreants, who murdered on the roads, there existed a separate class of Thugs, who pursued a similar avocation on the principal rivers of India. They assumed the garb of boatmen, and had the cleanest and most inviting passenger-boats at the ghâts of most considerable towns. Some of the gang, well dressed and passing for respectable travellers, took to the roads in the vicinity, and endeavoured to draw customers to their confederates' boats by the same tactics as the inveiglers of the road-gangs used. They would pretend to be going up or down the river, and beg those whom they met to join them in a boat to save expense. Perhaps, on arriving at the ghât, the traveller would consent to go on board a boat apparently partly filled with passengers and about to put off at once—the passengers being Thugs in disguise. When the boat had advanced some distance and the coast all clear, at a given signal the Thugs fell upon their victims and strangled them; and, taking the precaution to break the spine to guard against resuscitation, after stripping the bodies, threw them out

of a hole in the side into the water, and continued their course to the next ghât as if nothing unusual had happened, previously landing their inveiglers on the road to procure fresh victims at the next station. Cases have been known of these fresh-water pirates attacking baggage-boats, if feebly manned, and scuttling them, after murdering the crew and pillaging the cargo of all that was portable..

The booty obtained by the Thugs was occasionally very considerable: cases are recorded in which they have taken from 16,000 to 20,000 rupees, but such spoil was gained by the extermination of whole caravans of merchants and travellers. Commonly the property taken was of much smaller value, and hardly any apparent poverty was a protection, since the supposed possession of two pice was, by the avowal of an informer, declared to be sufficient temptation to induce the Thugs to murder the possessor. In dividing the proceeds of a robbery, a portion was first set apart for the Rajah or Poligar, under whose protection they lived; a second was assigned to religious purposes, and the remainder divided among the members of the gang, according to an established scale.

It is impossible to make an accurate estimate of the number of victims who fell by the hands of these murderers during the first thirty-five years of this century; but the following data may enable us to approximate to the truth. Between 1826 and 1835, 1562 prisoners were tried for the crime of thuggee, 1404 of whom were hanged or transported for life. Taking the average time during which each of these Thugs had been employed in murdering to have been 20 years, and supposing that each man of a gang killed one victim a year, which is far below the truth probably, since some confessed to 200 murders, the conclusion we must arrive at is, that 1000 to 1500 people annually lost their lives by Thuggee.

The suppression of these atrocities forms a noble act in the administration of Lord Bentinck, who appointed Captain Sleeman to this service. This officer organized a body of sepoys as a detective police at Saugor, the head-quarters of the commission, and commenced operations by gaining over an approver. Every care was taken to substantiate the evidence thus obtained by visiting the spots indicated as the scenes of murders, and matters were generally found in accordance with the approver's statements. Arrests were then made and others

allowed to turn approvers, and thus link after link was added to the chain of evidence. An expedition having this object is thus described by a medical officer who took part in it:—

"I once accompanied a party of Thugs in a search of this kind; they pointed out with the greatest accuracy the spot in which, twelve years before, seven unfortunate travellers had been murdered by them. On clearing away the ground in the gorge of a hill, a little off the path, the men immediately turned out the skulls and other bones. On another occasion, Captain Sleeman's tent was accidentally pitched on the very grave, and before the bodies could be exhumed the carpet had to be removed. This, then, is one convincing proof of the correctness of the evidence, and the next is equally conclusive. As soon as two or three approvers were obtained, by means of a little judicious management, the one caste was set against the other, so that, however much disposed these men might be to save their own relatives or caste, the jealous opponent is now sure to *peach*; and as a *free* confession was the stipulation on which life was to be spared, these men dare not withhold the names of any of their friends, their ostensible occupation and residence. When this information is obtained, a second party is despatched to seize their denounced companions, and to search their houses. The mounted soldiers and infantry sepoys acquit themselves most ably when on this duty. Marching in disguise, they are never suspected, and, as soon as they arrive in sight of the village inhabited by the stranglers, they hide themselves till dark, and then move on. Under cover of the night the village is effectually surrounded by the troopers and a part of the infantry soldiers, while the remainder make the best of their way into the interior. Having by this means made security doubly sure, the head man of the place is called on, and desired to point out the particular houses of the men who are named; this information is no sooner obtained than the dwellings are unceremoniously entered, and the Thugs generally secured. Should the Jemadar of the village have pointed out the wrong house, with a view to afford the culprits time to escape, they are sure to fall into the hands of the piquets who are on the watch outside. By the time that these fellows are properly secured, the town or village community is in a pretty general uproar, at the horrifying idea that their next-door neighbours,

Gunga, and Sooper Singh, Hosein Ali, &c., should turn out to be Thugs, and they not know of it. In the houses of these miscreants property to a considerable amount is generally found; consisting of Venetian ducats, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, Spanish dollars, valuable swords, shields, Cashmere shawls, and the rich manufactures of Benares. So extensive has been the amount of this recovered booty, that, after returning to the representatives of the murdered travellers all that was justly proved to belong to them, the diamonds, pearls, emeralds, Cashmere shawls, shields, swords, Venetian ducats, and Spanish dollars, sold for the benefit of the government, have realized a sum sufficient to pay for the erection of two new prison-houses at Saugor, as well as all other incidental charges up to the end of the year 1834. These circumstantial proofs, coupled with the conflicting testimony of their companions who were present at the murders, together with the different collateral evidence, present a mass of facts too powerful to be rebutted, so that very often the prisoner at once voluntarily acknowledges his offence."*

The following account of the execution of a party of Thugs is by an eye-witness:—

"Sentence of death was pronounced in a very impressive manner by Captain Sleeman on different parties of Thugs, executed during my residence in Saugor. The criminals, drawn up in a semicircle round the bench on which the judge was seated, were surrounded by a strong guard of musketeers and dismounted cavalry. The warrants were placed before them, and each name, as called out by the court, was repeated by the Sheristhadar. At the conclusion of this ceremony Captain Sleeman addressed them in the Hindūstani language in a few sentences which may be rendered thus: 'You have all been convicted of the crime of blood; the order from the Calcutta Council therefore is, that, at to-morrow's dawn you are all to be hung. If any of you desire to make any further communication, you may now speak.' Few answered. Those who did reply merely requested, as a dying favour, that their bodies on being taken down might be burnt. One hardened villain, however, as he was turning round to leave the court, disturbed the solemnity of the scene by muttering, 'Ah, you have got it all your own way now, but let me find you in

* 'Modern India,' by Doctor Spry.

Paradise, and then I will be revenged!' The night was passed by these men in displays of coarse and disgusting levity. Trusting in the assurance that, dying in the calling, Bhowanee would provide for them in Paradise, they evinced neither penitence nor remorse. Stifling their alarm with boisterous revelling, they hoped to establish in the minds of their comrades, who could hear them through the wall, a reputation for courage by means which at once proved their insincerity and belied their fortitude. Imagine such men on the last night of their existence on earth, not penitent for their individual errors, or impressed with a sense of the public mischiefs to which they had contributed; not even rendered serious by the dismal ordeal which in a few hours was to usher them into an unknown world; but singing, singing in the condemned cell, and repeating their unhallowed carols while jolting along in the carts that conveyed them to their gibbets! When morning came, numerous hackeries drew up to the gaol door, taking five men in each. They looked dreadfully haggard. As one cart was laden after the other, it was driven away, surrounded by sepoys with fixed bayonets and loaded muskets. The place appointed for the executions was on the north side of the town of Saugor, about a mile and a half from the gaol. 'Rooksut, Doctor Sahib,' 'Salaam, Doctor Sahib,'* were the salutations I received as I rode by the wretched tumbrels which were jolting them to execution. The gibbets were temporary erections, forming three sides of a square. The upright posts which supported the cross-beams were firmly fixed in stone masonry five feet in height. From either side of these walls foot-boards were placed, on which the unhappy criminals were to land on reaching the top of the ladder. The cross-beams were each provided with ten running halters equidistant from one another. As each hackery-load of malefactors arrived it was taken to the foot of the respective ladders, and, as one by one got out, he mounted to the platform or foot-board. Their irons were not removed. All this time the air was pierced with the hoarse and hollow shoutings of these wretched men. Each man, as he reached the top of the ladder, stepped out on the platform and walked at once to a halter. Without loss of time he tried its strength by weighing his whole body on it. Every one having by this

* Adieu, Doctor Sahib. Compliments to you, Doctor.

means proved the strength of his rope with his own hands (for none of them were handcuffed), introduced his head into the noose, drew the knot firmly home immediately behind the right ear, and, amid terrific cheers, jumped off the board and launched himself into eternity. Thus, in the moment of death, we see a scrupulous attention paid to the preservation of caste. To wait to be hung by the hand of a chumar was a thought too revolting for endurance. The name would be disgraced for ever, and therefore, rather than submit to its degradation, every man hung himself." *

Dr. Spry furnished the Scotch phrenologists with the heads of seven Thugs who were executed at Saugor in 1832, and forwarded with them a paper descriptive of the habits and peculiarities of each individual. The result of an examination of these heads was published in the Phrenological Journal, which, inasmuch as it corroborates the history of the Thugs by independent testimony, will be read with interest.

"One peculiarity is, that destructiveness is not a predominant organ in any of them; and yet they were murderers. This fact, although it might appear to a superficial observer in opposition to their character, is in reality perfectly consistent with it. When destructiveness is the predominant organ in the head of an individual, he delights in taking away life from 'ruffian thirst for blood;' but the Thugs murdered obviously for the sake of robbing, and under the influence of other motives immediately to be explained; and also because they had been trained to this mode of life from their infancy. The skulls show that combination of large organs of the animal propensities with comparatively moderate organs of the moral sentiments which predisposes individuals to any mode of self-gratification, without restraining them by regard to the rights and welfare of others. The Thugs belong to the class of characters in which I would place the captains and crews of slave-ships, and also the more desperate among soldiers; that is to say, men who individually are not quite so prone to cruelty that they would of themselves have embarked in a murderous enterprise unsolicited, but who, when temptation is presented to them, feel little or no compunction in yielding to it.

"These skulls are of smaller size than the European aver-

* Spry's 'Modern India.'

age. Circumstances more suitable for the cultivation of the lower feelings, and unfavourable for the strengthening of benevolence and conscientiousness, than those of the Thugs, it is impossible to conceive; even veneration and love of approbation, which, when rightly directed, serve to regulate the selfish feelings, are here rendered the prompters of destructiveness and acquisitiveness. It is not merely the size of the organs of these last two propensities that we are to regard; for in many cases the practices of the Thugs are little if at all dictated by them. Dr. Spry states it as his opinion (and the opinion exactly accords with my own conclusion, drawn from the examination of the skulls), that 'many boys go on the roads as Thugs because their fathers do, and not from any inherent ferocity of disposition.' The influence of the priests is very great in leading to the enormities detailed by Dr. Spry. When the *instructors* of the people are men 'not ashamed to declare openly that untruth and false swearing are virtuous and meritorious deeds when they tend to their own advantage,' it is far from wonderful that the naturally weak morality of the *instructed* should become still more weak. Nor is it at all surprising that the authority of men looked up to with awe for their promises of eternal felicity should be very influential in giving life and vigour to the animal propensities. The love of approbation is a powerful stimulant to the commission of the atrocities of the Thugs. In a letter published by Captain Sleeman in the 'Calcutta Literary Gazette,' and reprinted in the 'Calcutta Magazine, for September 1832,' that officer tells us that, 'after a man has passed through the different grades, and shown that he has acquired sufficient dexterity, or what we may call nerve or resolution, and which they call 'hard-breastedness,' to strangle a victim himself, the priest, on a certain day, before all the gang assembled, before they set out on their criminal expeditions, presents him with the *angocha* or *romal* (the handkerchief with which the strangling is performed), tells him how many of his family have signalized themselves by the use of it, how much his friends expect from his courage and conduct; and implores the goddess to vouchsafe her support to his laudable ambition and endeavours to distinguish himself in her service. The investiture of the *romal* is knighthood to these monsters; it is the highest object of their ambition,

not only because the man who strangles has so much a head over and above the share which falls to him in the division of the spoil, but because it implies the recognition by his comrades of the qualities of courage, strength, and dexterity, which all are anxious to be famed for.' Cautiousness is strong, and marks the whole of their proceedings. Dirgpaul's head has the organ more developed than either of the others. Dr. Spry mentions that at his execution 'his caution prevented him from being too precipitate.' The leer of this man was probably the effect of self-esteem. The sexual propensities are strongly developed in the whole seven. Adhesiveness is fully developed. Dirgpaul, who has the largest philoprogenitiveness, spared and adopted an infant belonging to a company of whom every individual was murdered. This is a fine illustration of the independent existence of benevolence and philoprogenitiveness. The developments of individuality and locality correspond with the memory and power of observation which the Thugs manifest. Dr. Spry tells us that the accuracy with which these men will, after a lapse of several years, point out the spot where the murdered are laid, is truly surprising. 'Conscientiousness is in most instances developed only in a moderate degree. The only large conscientiousness is that of Hosein. The whole of Dr. Spry's paper is a commentary on this. In conclusion it may be confidently affirmed that, so far as our information extends, the heads and characters of these seven Thugs exactly correspond." *

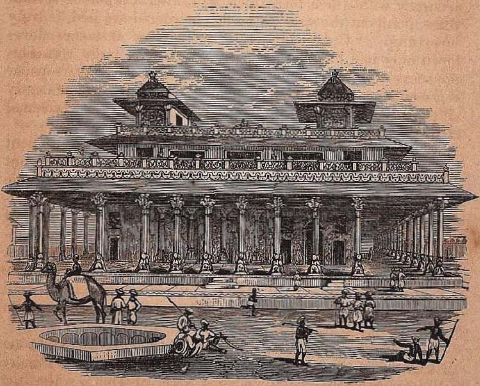
Another benefit conferred on the Hindū population, about this time, was the abolition of the rite of suttee throughout all the territories under British authority. This humane measure was strongly opposed by a numerous class of the natives, whose prejudices were in favour of ancient customs; but happily there were many who, more enlightened, warmly applauded the act that prohibited the burning of widows; and it is to be hoped that the efforts which are made to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen population will lead in time to the extinction of this revolting sacrifice, even in the independent native states.

Lord William Bentinck was a great friend to the diffusion of knowledge among the Hindūs. Under his auspices many schools were instituted in various parts of India, where the

* Phrenological Journal, No. xxxix. vol. viii.

pupils were provided with translations of English works on history, geography, mechanics, and other useful branches of knowledge; but in the year 1835 it was resolved that the English language should be the medium of instruction throughout the country; and since that time English has been studied at the more remote courts of Hindostan, and English tutors have been engaged to educate the sons of some of the rajas. Runjeet Sing, the late ruler of the Punjab, consented to the establishment of an English school at Lahore, his capital; and some of the princes of Rajputana followed his example.

It was during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, in 1833, that the expiration of the Company's charter produced a material change in the commercial affairs of India, by depriving that body of all its exclusive rights as a trading association, and abolishing the restrictions that had hitherto prevented private individuals from holding lands in the British possessions, or trading to the interior without a licence.



Palace of Allahabad.

The monopoly of the China trade was abolished by the new charter which was granted for twelve years, but the government of India was left in the hands of the Company.

Each presidency has its separate army, but the Governor-General is commander-in-chief of the whole; and he has authority to make peace or war, and to direct the military operations in any part of the country. The number of European troops stationed in India is about thirty thousand, of whom two-thirds are Queen's regiments, and the rest in the pay of the East India Company; but the main body of the Indian army is composed of native troops, or sepoys, whose numbers vary according to exigencies, but generally average above two hundred thousand men. Most of the Hindū sepoys in the Bengal army are men of high caste, principally Rajputs and Bramins, but there are also many Mussulman soldiers, and all are at liberty to observe the ceremonies of their religion, which is, no doubt, one great means of preserving their attachment and fidelity. When old or disabled, the sepoy retires on a pension to his native village, carrying with him his soldier's uniform, which he proudly displays on all festive occasions.

In 1835 Lord William Bentinck resigned the government of India, and Lord Auckland was appointed to succeed him, but did not arrive at Calcutta until the following year. In the mean time the administration was conducted by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

LORD AUCKLAND. LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

HINDŪSTAN had never been in a more tranquil state than at the time when Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta, in 1836, invested with the high functions of Governor-General. All then appeared to promise a continuance of peace, and the uninterrupted progress of those improvements so steadily and effectually pursued by his predecessor; but the calm was not of long duration; and the attention of the government was soon engrossed by the affairs of Cabul, which led our armies for the first time across the Indus, and replaced on the throne the long-exiled monarch of that kingdom.

Before the commencement of that war a revolution had occurred in the kingdom of Oude, a considerable state, dependent on the government of Bengal, but ruled by its own sovereign, whose court is the only one now existing in Hindūstan that retains the splendour formerly exhibited by the Indian princes.

It may be remembered that, after the conquest of Bengal, Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob Vizier of Oude, surrendered himself to the English, on certain terms; and was restored to his former dignity, on condition that he should enter into a lasting alliance with the British government.

The territory of Oude, under the able management of that prince, formed one of the most important states into which the Mogul Empire had been divided; but the successors of Sujah governed with less ability; and in 1798 a disputed succession called for the interference of the British authorities, who placed on the throne Saadat Ali, one of the claimants, who, in return for this service, agreed to disband the greater part of his army, and employ British troops for the protection of his dominions. By a subsequent treaty he surrendered the valuable provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund; so that the Ganges became the boundary of his state, and his dependence was completely secured by the establishment of the important military station at Cawnpore, on the Ganges, about six hundred miles from Calcutta, and not more than fifty from Lucknow, the capital of Oude.

Soldier of the King of Oude.

The cantonments at Cawnpore extend nearly six miles along

the bank of the river; and the European residents, independent of the military, are numerous, some of them being shop-keepers, others makers of gloves and saddlery, for both of which manufactures Cawnpore is especially celebrated. The principal civil officers, such as the judges and collectors of revenue, live in magnificent style, according to the Indian fashion, being surrounded with a numerous train of domestics; as every man's consequence, in India, is estimated by the number of servants belonging to his establishment.

Cawnpore is considered rather a gay station, as it can boast of a theatre for amateur performances, handsome assembly rooms, and a good racecourse; and it also has the advantage of being sufficiently near to the famous city of Lucknow to admit of excursions thither at all seasons of public festivals and court ceremonies, which far surpass in grandeur anything now seen at Delhi.

The Nabob-vizier, or ruler of Oude, although in reality dependent on the British Government, was nominally a vassal of the Emperor until the year 1819, when, with the sanction of the Governor-General and Council of Calcutta, he assumed the title of king, and became, to a certain extent, an independent sovereign; since he was permitted to conduct the internal government of the country, free from any direct control or interference. He was, however, still obliged to maintain British troops in his capital, and to receive an English resident on terms of equality at his court; so that he was kept in check, as the slightest act detrimental to the British interests would have been immediately reported to the authorities at Calcutta.

The country of Oude possesses natural advantages that are not exceeded in any part of India. Its level surface is watered by innumerable streams that fertilize the soil, which, when carefully cultivated, as it was under its former rulers, produced rich crops of wheat, cotton, sugar, opium, indigo, and other valuable products; but the mode of taxation had become so oppressive, that the people had no encouragement to industry, and were miserably poor, while much good land that might have been tilled for their benefit was lying waste.

Under the government of Saadat Ali and his successor, the kingdom was divided into sixteen districts, the revenues of which were farmed to private individuals, who paid a certain

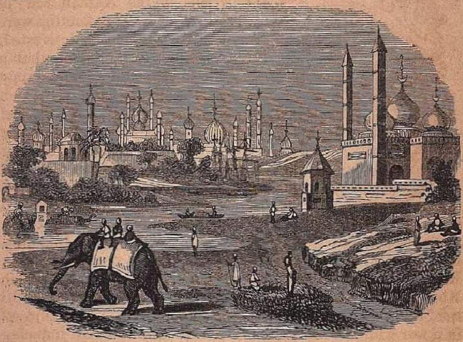
sum annually to the king, and collected the rents from the tenants for their own benefit. There was no check on their exactions, consequently they extorted from the cultivators much more than was legally their due; and it was owing to this oppressive system that many men who, under a better form of government, would have been employed in the useful labours of the field, betook themselves to a less honest but more lucrative occupation; and thus the whole country was overrun with Thugs, and robbers of all descriptions.

Such was the state of Oude for many years, until Lord William Bentinck took some very decided steps towards remedying these evils, by making preparations for transferring the civil administration to English officers, which certainly would have been done, had not the king introduced some reforms calculated to relieve the people, in a great degree, from the heavy burthen of taxation by which they had been oppressed.

In the year 1837 the death of the sovereign occasioned a violent commotion in the capital of Oude, as it was generally believed that two young men whom he had declared to be his sons had, in reality, no claim to such relationship. The British government, therefore, which had long been the arbiter in all questions of importance, set aside the doubtful claims of the young men, in favour of Nusseer-ud-Dowlah, the uncle of the late monarch, a prince rather advanced in years. A violent disturbance ensued in the capital, in which the queen-mother took an active part. The gates of the palace were forced; the new sovereign, with all the English officers who were there, were seized by the insurgents, headed by the queen in her palanquin; and one of the young princes was formally installed. But the party of Nusseer-ud-Dowlah triumphed, in the end; and he remained King of Oude, under the protection of the British government.

The city of Lucknow, like many Indian towns, looks well at a distance, from the imposing appearance of its numerous cupolas and minarets; but the streets are, in general, narrow, dirty, and crowded, except in that quarter where the palace and the houses of the great are situated. Some of these are very handsome buildings, partaking of both the European and Oriental style of architecture; and many of them are furnished in the English fashion, of which the late king was a great admirer. One of his palaces, on the river Goomtee

about nine miles above Lucknow, was built after the English plan, and to this retreat he was in the habit of making excursions, in a small steam-boat, constructed for him in 1819 by an English engineer, the first steam-vessel known in India.



City of Lucknow.

The state processions of the late King of Oude are described as rivalling those of the Mogul Emperors in the days of their glory; and his court, on occasions of ceremony, as presenting an almost equal display of barbaric splendour. His state carriage is of English construction, and is drawn by eight black horses; and his Palkee, a sort of throne, on which he sometimes appears in processions, is of wrought gold, and is carried by bearers habited in scarlet vests and fine turbans profusely ornamented.

The Mohammedan festivals are celebrated at Lucknow with great magnificence; and the Europeans attached to the court are usually entertained by his Majesty with a combat of wild beasts, and a dinner in the English style, with the accompaniment of dances performed by certain female dancers, called, in India, Natch-girls; without whose presence an entertainment would be considered dull and insipid.

KINGDOM OF CABUL.

THE events of the Afghan war, in which so many English families were deeply and personally interested, are so familiar to every one, that a detailed account of that unhappy contest would only be a repetition of an oft-told tale. A very brief sketch may therefore suffice for the present purpose. The exiled King of Cabul, Shah Shuja, who had continued to reside at the British station of Loodiana, about two hundred miles to the north of Delhi, constantly occupied himself in vain attempts to recover his throne; while the ambition of Dost Mahommed's brothers kept the whole country in a state of anarchy. Kamran, the prince who had compassed the death of Futteh Khan, and was the bitterest enemy of Dost Mahommed, still retained the government of Herat, and, having involved himself in a war with Persia, had increased the confusion by inducing the Persians to lay siege to Herat.

This war was considered of some consequence to our government, on account of the influence exercised at the court of Persia by the Russians, who might possibly have availed themselves of any conquests made by the Persians near the frontiers to send their armies into the Indian territories. On the other hand, it was the interest of Dost Mahommed to secure the friendship of the Persian monarch, and not to prevent him from proceeding against Prince Kamran; but he was also anxious to put a stop to the encroachments of the Sik ruler, Runjeet Singh; and with that view applied for aid to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, who considered this application as affording him a favourable opportunity for opening a commercial intercourse with the countries west of the Indus, and securing the free navigation of that river to British merchants. An envoy was despatched to Runjeet Singh at Peshawur, to negociate a peace between that great prince and the King of Cabul, which might have been

concluded, but that Dost Mahommed was not satisfied with such concessions as Runjeet was willing to make; and as there was great reason to believe that he was playing a double part, by corresponding secretly with the Persians and Russians, the British governor withdrew his interference with regard to the Siks, and resolved to depose the monarch whose conduct was so dangerous.

This determination was, naturally, a preliminary step towards the restoration of Shah Shuja, who, while he was in power, had cordially entered into the views of the British government with regard to Persia; and, on these grounds, war was declared against Dost Mahommed, and two armies were prepared for the invasion of his kingdom, one to march from Bengal, the other from Bombay, and to form a junction at Shikapore, a large commercial town, fifteen miles west of the Indus.

The route of the Bombay troops lay through the territories of the Ameers of Scinde, who refused to grant them a free passage, although there was a treaty of friendship subsisting between them and the British rulers of Hindūstan. It was, therefore, necessary to force a way, and the two principal cities, Hyderabad and Kurrachee, were attacked, and taken without much trouble, as very little resistance was offered. The Ameers were so much alarmed at these easy conquests, that they not only accelerated the march of the army, but agreed to a new treaty, and the troops pursued their way to the place of rendézvous.

The whole army was assembled at Shikapore in the early part of March, 1839, and began to move towards Candahar, through a wild mountainous country, beset by fierce marauding tribes of Belooches, and suffering severely from want of water and provisions. After many dangers and distresses, however, they reached Candahar, from which the governor, a brother of Dost Mahommed, fled, leaving the city to be occupied by the British forces. Shah Shuja was here formally reinstated as King of Cabul; and, a few weeks after this ceremony, which was performed on the open plain, in the midst of the troops, the army proceeded to Ghuzni, the celebrated capital of the early Mussulman conquerors, which was stormed and taken, after a desperate conflict with the Afghans, who defended the town with the utmost bravery.

About this time the death of Runjeet Singh deprived the

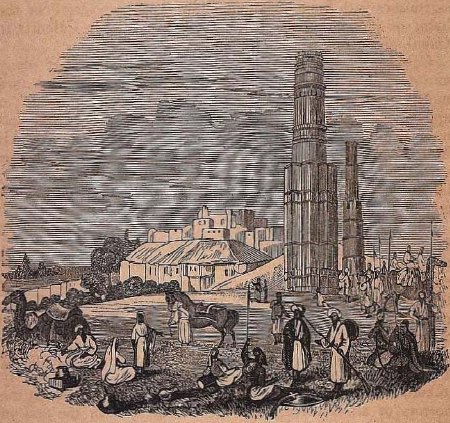
English of a powerful ally, and the eastern nations of one of their greatest rulers. This illustrious prince, the founder of a vast empire, which, like that of Ahmed, of Durani, was destined to fall with him to whom it owed its rise, died in June, 1839, and was succeeded by his son, Kurruch Singh, who survived him only a few months. The funeral obsequies of the latter were celebrated with great pomp; and on the same day his son and successor, Nehal, was accidentally killed by the falling of a beam, as he was passing under a gateway on his elephant. This event gave rise to much confusion in the state, as there was no direct heir to the crown; and one party supported Dhian Singh, who had been Runjeet's chief minister; while the opposite faction proclaimed Shere Singh, another prince of the family.

Such was the state of affairs in the Punjab during the early part of the Afghan war; consequently, the Siks were too much occupied with their own troubles to afford that efficient aid which had been expected from the friendly alliance that had subsisted between the British government and the late monarch Runjeet Singh.

The fall of Ghuzni opened the road to Cabul, the capital city. On the 30th of July, 1839, our main army crossed the ridge of a mountain said to be 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and went on through narrow defiles without encountering any resistance. As they drew near, Dost Mohammed quitted his throne and his capital, and fled with 600 horsemen to seek a refuge in the wide wild country beyond the Oxus. On the 7th of August Shah Shuja and the English entered the city of Cabul in triumph, and there enacted some very (politically) unwise, and some very ridiculous scenes. Meanwhile the Afghans were murdering every British officer or soldier whom they could surprise outside of the camp.

In the mean time, Dost Mohammed had taken refuge in Bokhara, where he was treacherously thrown into prison by the King of that country, who seems to have had no other object in so doing, but to force him to surrender his jewels, which were of immense value. He contrived, however, to effect his escape, by bribing one of his guards, who undertook to procure him a fleet horse, and to guide him beyond the frontiers. The plan was successful, and the fugitive prince, after several hair-breadth escapes, reached a place of safety, and

began to assemble friends around him, with a view of expelling his rival and the British from Cabul, of which he had the greatest hopes, as he knew that Shah Shuja was unpopular, and that nothing but the power of those who had placed him on the throne could keep him there. A detachment had been



Fortress of Ghuzni, with the two Minars.

left for the protection of the monarch in the capital, but the main body of the army had returned to their several stations; consequently, Dost Mahommed flattered himself with hopes that their absence would be favourable to his success; but he was disappointed; for, after having twice attacked the protecting force, he was reduced to so helpless a condition that he gave himself up to Sir William M'Naghten, the British resident at Cabul. He was sent to Calcutta, where he was received by the Governor-General with the respect due to his rank, and, although a captive, was treated as a distinguished guest,

until he obtained permission to retire with his family to Loodiana, where the house was assigned to him that had so long been the residence of Shah Shuja. That monarch seemed to be now fully re-established, and his capital for some time remained tranquil; but the protective force, which was stationed about five miles from the city, was frequently engaged in skirmishes with some of the mountain tribes, who were in the habit of plundering the mails on their way from Calcutta to Cabul, and committing various kinds of depredations.

Cabul is a large walled city, inhabited by people of many nations. The houses, which are only two stories high, are mostly built of wood, or unburnt brick, and are mean in appearance; but the great bazaar, was one of the largest and most elegant in all the East. It was built by the famous Ali Merdan Khan, in the time of Aurengzebe, and was a great emporium of the trade of central Asia; but it exists no longer, having been destroyed by the British before they quitted the country at the conclusion of the war.

In the month of April, 1841, General Elphinstone assumed the command of the British army at Cabul, which, at that time, was perfectly tranquil, and its inhabitants peacefully engaged in their various occupations. The ladies of some of the British officers had accompanied their husbands, and were residing with them in the city, some of them having their children with them. The privations they suffered, even under the most favourable circumstances, were very great, among a people to whom the comforts of European life are utterly unknown; but to these inconveniences were soon added the horrors of an insurrection, which broke out on the 2nd of November, caused, as it was afterwards discovered, by a seditious letter addressed by one of the Ghilzie tribe to some of the most influential chiefs at Cabul, informing them that it was the intention of the British envoy to seize and send them all to London. A general tumult ensued. The houses of all the British residents in the city were furiously assailed, and several distinguished officers, among whom was Sir Alexander Burnes, lost their lives in the confusion. The revolt increased to such an alarming height, not only in the capital, but also among the tribes of the surrounding country, that it was thought advisable to endeavour to make terms with the leaders, the principal of whom was Akber Khan, the favourite son of

Dost Mahommed. The conduct of Akber during the whole of this war afforded a striking illustration of aristocratic manners among half-civilised nations, the courtesy of a prince being strangely mixed with the ferocity of a barbarian in his intercourse with his enemies.

In the mean time, Shah Shuja had kept himself closely shut up in the Bala Hissar, the palace and citadel of Cabul, which was partly garrisoned with British troops, where he anxiously awaited the result of the insurrection. It soon, however, became apparent that the revolt was not confined to the capital, but was general all over the country. The situation of the British was one of extreme peril, being in want of supplies of all kinds, and surrounded by hostile tribes of warlike barbarians, who occupied all the roads by which assistance might be sent. The nearest British station was six hundred miles distant; the road to any place lay through mountainous passes, many miles in length, choked up with snow, and beset by the enemy; while the soldiers were already falling victims to the severity of a Cabul winter, which was more especially fatal to the sepoys, who, bred in the sultry climate of India, were utterly incapable of enduring the rigour of such a winter, the ground in Cabul being covered with deep snow during five months of the year. Under these circumstances, the British envoy, Sir William M'Naghten, resolved on making terms, if possible, with Akber Khan, who gave him a meeting on the plain, where a long conference took place relative to a treaty of peace, which was concluded, on condition that Shah Shuja should abdicate the throne of Cabul, and Dost Mahommed be reinstated. The British troops were to be withdrawn from the citadel, and join the rest of the army at the cantonments, and Akber himself undertook to escort them thither, to protect them from the Ghilzies, and other tribes that were hovering about the neighbourhood. During this movement some signs of treachery on the part of the chief spread dismay amongst the already dispirited troops, who were fired upon ere they had reached the cantonments.

It was now that the increasing distresses of the army induced Sir William M'Naghten to give Akber a second meeting. The interview, which took place outside the city, terminated fatally to the envoy, who, in full confidence of Akber's sincerity, repaired to the spot accompanied by only

a very small retinue. After a short conference, Akber betrayed the treachery of his intentions by provoking a misunderstanding, when, attempting to seize Sir William M'Naghten, and to make him prisoner, a scuffle ensued: Sir William was shot by the hand of Akber, and two or three other officers were also sacrificed at the onset of the chiefs, while the rest of the party were carried off as prisoners.

The place of the murdered envoy was supplied by Major Pottinger, who renewed the negotiations with Akber; and it was finally arranged that the British army should be permitted to leave Cabul, and proceed to Jellalabad, a small fortified town between the capital and Peshawar, then held by General Nott.

The retreat of the British from Cabul may well be compared to that of the French from Moscow, but was, if possible, more calamitous, owing to the vast number of women and children who encumbered the army, adding greatly to the miseries of those who had no means of protecting them from the inclemency of the weather, or the cravings of hunger. Their way lay through the rugged narrow defiles of Khoord Cabul, Tezeen, Jugdullock, and Khyber, the latter of which gives its name to a mountain tribe, who had long been in the habit of receiving an annual tribute, or black mail, from the government of Cabul, for the free transit of the pass; but as this tribute had been unwisely discontinued by Shah Shuja, the Khyberries had become the fierce and implacable enemies of that monarch and his supporters; so that it was only through the influence of Akber Khan that the British troops could hope to march through the Khyber pass in safety. To depend on this wily chief was a desperate alternative; yet, under the existing circumstances, it afforded the only means of avoiding certain destruction; therefore, it was resolved rather to brave the dangers of a retreat than to remain with the wretched prospect of perishing for want of food and clothing.

The march was commenced on the 6th of January, 1842, and no sooner had the cantonments been evacuated than the Afghans rushed in and set fire to them, carrying off every article that had been left. This hostile movement was followed up by the pursuit of the retreating army, and, notwithstanding the treaty made with Akber, the baggage was seized, and those who attempted to defend it were cut down by the

well-armed and mounted barbarians, large bands of whom kept hovering around. It ought to be borne in mind that the fugitives were not all soldiers, but that many were women and children, and that the mere camp followers were more than double the number of the troops, whose difficulties were considerably increased by the care of so many helpless persons.

British Troops en route from Cabul.

The circumstances attending the annihilation of that unfortunate army will long be remembered. Some perished miserably in the snow; others were made prisoners; but the greater number fell in the narrow passes of the mountains, under the murderous attacks of the Ghilzies, Khyberries, and other barbarous hordes, whom Akber had promised to restrain from violence. From the very commencement of the march, the chief had kept near the army, for the purpose, probably, of taking advantage of every circumstance that might arise,

but contriving, at the same time, to preserve such an appearance of good faith, that many believed his intentions were friendly, until undeceived by subsequent occurrences. His first act was to get into his power some of the principal officers and their families; which he did by presenting himself about three days after their departure from Cabul, offering to take the ladies and children back under his own protection, as the only means of saving them from the fierce hordes by whom they were surrounded. The invitation was extended to such of the officers as chose to return, and was accepted by those who were wounded, or whose wives were about to become the guests or captives, they knew not which, of a barbarian prince. They were conducted to one of those small forts already mentioned as the residences of the khans, or heads of tribes, where the accommodations were so rude and scanty, that an English peasant's cot might be termed a luxurious abode, compared with the dwelling of an Afghan nobleman. Three dark hovels, utterly destitute of furniture, were allotted for the use of the Europeans, who were almost stifled with the smoke of a wood fire, which could only find vent through the doorway. Food for the whole party was furnished in one dish, without a single knife, fork, or spoon, and the only place of repose was the floor, spread with sheepskins; yet these were the best accommodations the place afforded; nor does it appear that the chief himself was better lodged or entertained; so that, according to the customs of the country, the prisoners were well treated. Among the number were Lady Sale and the widow of Sir William M'Naghten, with about seven other ladies, most of whom had their children with them, and were consoled by the presence of their husbands. The new envoy, Major Pottinger, and General Elphinstone were also among the captives, the latter having gone to Akber's camp, in the hope of inducing him to exert his influence in restraining the mountain tribes that cut off the retreat of the army through the passes. This the chief promised to do, but detained the general as a hostage for the performance of certain articles of the treaty, while the unfortunate army was left to its fate.

Akber soon removed his prisoners to the strong fort of Buddeeabad, near Tezeen, belonging to his father-in-law, a Ghilzie chief, on the way to which they had to pass the

Khoord Cabul pass, where they beheld, with horror, the remains of many hundreds of those who had left Cabul with them only a few days previously, and whose sufferings had been terminated by the most painful deaths. The fort of Buddeeabad, destined to be the abode of the prisoners for three long months, is situated in a narrow valley, enclosed by lofty precipitous hills, and fortified with a wall and ditch. Akber, who had assumed the title of Sirdar, paid great attention to their comforts, as far as circumstances would permit, and they were allowed to correspond with their friends at Jellalabad, where General Sale was then in command, who sent them clothing, letters, and newspapers, the value of which to persons thus situated may be well understood. General Elphinstone, whose health had sunk under the pressure of anxiety and misfortune, died soon after his melancholy journey to Tezeen.

The deplorable reverses which had overwhelmed the devoted army on its retreat could be justly attributed only to the over confidence and thoughtlessness of Burnes and our other political agents, and to the gross incapacity of those who directed its movements. It will always remain as a war for which Englishmen will have to blush. There were many officers in the force, not to mention those of superior grade, who, could they have assumed the command, would have avoided the first fatal errors, through which our cantonments at Cabul were in a wretched, defenceless state, and our magazines of provisions lost at the very beginning of the affray. There was many a captain, not to say lieutenant, who would have been quite capable of rescuing the troops from their false position, and conducting them with comparative safety through their difficulties. There was nothing extraordiuarily perplexing in the circumstances attending their situation. The rare genius of a Wellington was scarcely required to extricate them. Although, without doubt, sudden and startling (as none would believe that the Afghans were about to attack us), the exigency at first was comparatively clear and simple, only requiring to be met with promptitude and decision: but most unhappily none of our chiefs seemed to be possessed of these qualities. Instead of doing, they lost time in talking about what was to be done; and they got up councils of war, by which never yet was war well conducted. One of the histo-

rians of the tremendous disaster says,—"If it may be taken as a general rule in life, that it is better in a doubtful case to act wrongly than not to act at all, the axiom is especially true as regards military affairs; and this was an occasion of the kind. It was emphatically a case for action, not for the indulgence of long discussion; and one would have thought feeling alone would have decided it without much aid from reflection, when they beheld their fellow-countrymen murdered in cold blood before their eyes."* General Elphinstone was a brave and a good man, and reputed to be well skilled and accomplished as an officer; but he was advanced in years, and his health, which was bad before he left England, became much worse in India. At Cabul he suffered severely from his anxieties and fatigues; the disease also affected his mind, and he was physically and morally incapacitated for the command when the Afghans first flew to arms. He had applied some time before to be relieved from his arduous duties, to which he felt himself unequal, and was only waiting the arrival of his successor. Finding himself growing hourly worse, he summoned Brigadier Shelton to share his authority and assist him with his advice. Most unfortunately the brigadier was one of the leading *croakers*. He was a man of acknowledged bravery; he had given, and he yet gave, proof upon proof that in actual combat he could conduct himself like a Paladin; but he despaired of the war from the first day; all along he had been most anxious to return to India, and he was resolved to listen to no plan which did not further an immediate return. Lamentable as had been the mistakes already committed before Shelton came into cantonments, there was yet time to arrest our downward progress. All that was wanted was a man with the moral courage to look consequences in the face, and with a high and holy sense of duty, devoid of all personal considerations. Brigadier Shelton was not this man. Though in the full vigour of health and years, and with all the courage for which we have given him credit, he became undecided and wavering, and even adverse to any spirited enterprise. It is neither too much nor too severe to say that on the retreat he completely lost his head, and behaved with a lack of ability and common sense that would have disgraced a drummer-boy. The most

* Charles Nash, Esq., 'History of the War in Afghanistan.' London, 1843.

agonizing lot was perhaps that of clever young officers (the army contained many such) who daily and almost hourly saw mistakes committed which they could not prevent or remedy—mistakes which at every move involved the frightful slaughter of their countrymen, and the disgrace of their country's flag. Counting camp-followers, women and children, more than 26,000 human beings had perished on the retreat, through cold, famine, and the incessant attacks of a most faithless and ferocious enemy. Dr. Brydon, who escaped by a miracle, was the only officer that reached the garrison of Jellalabad in safety, and a mere handful of sepoys and camp-followers entered that fortress, which the veteran Sale had held (and most wisely held) in spite of insane orders sent to him from Cabul to evacuate the place. Well might Sir Robert Peel exclaim in the House of Commons—"When had you before, in the whole cycle of your history, a disaster like that which has befallen you in Afghanistan? When did you ever read in the history of Englishmen of such a wholesale slaughter as that which has befallen your forces?"

These events wofully shook our credit and prestige throughout the East. But for our second triumphal march to Cabul, and our safe and honourable return from those ill-omened mountains to the banks of the Indus, we should soon have found ourselves assailed, by old or by new enemies, from every quarter. Even as it was, it took us two more years—the conflict with the Ameers of Sinde and the Sik war—to brighten our standard and restore to the minds of the Orientals the belief in our invincibility.

If those who planned the war had only diligently studied Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone's excellent account of the Afghans and their country, which had been for a good quarter of a century before the reading part of the public, most fatal mistakes would have been avoided, if the expedition had not been altogether set aside as a thing useless and eminently dangerous and costly. In that book, in the sober language of an accurate observer and deep thinker, they would have seen the uncontrollable passion for a wild independence, the unruliness, craft, cunning, duplicity, and ferocity, which characterise all the Afghan tribes. But Sir Alexander Burnes, after a careless examination, had declared that the Afghans were to be as easily led and ruled as so many children; and the words

of presumption and folly were taken in preference to the words of wisdom.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Cabul were divided into several factions, each of which set up a different claimant for the throne. The assassination of Shah Shuja in March, 1842, who was shot by one of the chiefs as they were riding together, close to the city, gave still more room for contention; and, amid the confusion that ensued, Futteh Jung, the eldest son of the murdered monarch, obtained possession of the citadel. He soon made terms with Akber, who became vizier; in which capacity he ruled, for some time, with absolute sway at Cabul, and, at length, imprisoned his royal master, in consequence of having intercepted a letter, written by Futteh Jung, and addressed to General Pollock, containing proposals by no means suited to the views of the vizier. Futteh Jung had repeatedly desired that the prisoners should be given up to him, a demand which Akber had decidedly refused to comply with. The monarch, therefore, had written to the English general, urging his speedy advance, promising to aid in liberating the captives and crushing the power of Akber Khan. The vizier had no sooner discovered this correspondence than he placed Futteh Jung in confinement, from which, however, he soon escaped, by means of a hole in the roof of his prison, and fled to the British camp; but his friendly intentions towards the English had nearly proved the ruin of those who were in the power of Akber, who put a stop to all intercourse between them and their friends at Jellalabad, and declared that, the moment he should hear of the approach of British troops, he would send them all to Tartary and make slaves of them. They had been removed from the fortress at Tezeen to one about three miles from Cabul, where they were now kept in horrible suspense as to their ultimate fate.

Ghuzni had been recovered by the Afghans, and nine British officers made prisoners, who, at the latter end of August, joined their companions in misfortune at Cabul. All were then sent off under a strong escort, they knew not whither, or with what intent, and continued their journey for seventeen days, through a beautiful country, where the lanes were overshadowed by mulberry-trees, and the finest fruits were in profusion around; but the scene had no charms for the

heart-sick, dispirited travellers, who were lodged at night in different forts, well guarded, and, by day, pursued their weary way in ignorance of their ultimate destination.

General Nott was at this time marching towards Ghuzni, and General Pollock towards Cabul. Akber, therefore, true to his threat, sent orders to Saleh Mahommed, the chief who had the charge of the prisoners, to convey them all to Kholoom, on the borders of Tartary, where, had this command been obeyed, slavery would have been their inevitable doom; but, fortunately, Saleh Mahommed had his own reasons for acting a more friendly part, and offered, for a large reward, to effect their escape. It is needless to say with what joy the proposal was accepted; and as many chiefs in the neighbourhood were well disposed towards the English, the execution of the plan was the less difficult. Secret messages were conveyed to the British generals that they might send troops to meet the fugitives, who, on the 16th of September, commenced their perilous flight, knowing that instant death awaited them should they be recaptured. The event was propitious; and, on the 20th of September, the captives found themselves once more at liberty, and under the protection of their friends and countrymen. The English were again in possession of Cabul, and had retaken the city of Ghuzni, which they had reduced to ruins, bringing away with them, among other spoils, the beautiful sandal-wood gates of the ancient temple of Somnath, carried off from that celebrated place of worship by Mahmud of Ghuzni, as a trophy of his conquests. They had since formed the entrance to the tomb of that great conqueror, and are still in excellent preservation.

Akber Khan had endeavoured to prevent one division of the British forces from reaching Cabul, by intercepting them in the valley of Tezeen, where a battle was fought, which ended in his total discomfiture, and he was compelled to seek safety in flight, while the British army proceeded triumphantly to the capital.

Victory was again perched upon the standard of old England. By this time, however, we had had quite enough of Afghan connexions and interferences; there was no longer a man, either in the army or in the civil service, that could be deluded by the dream of Burnes; we had released our captives, retrieved the honour of our arms, and by a series of well-

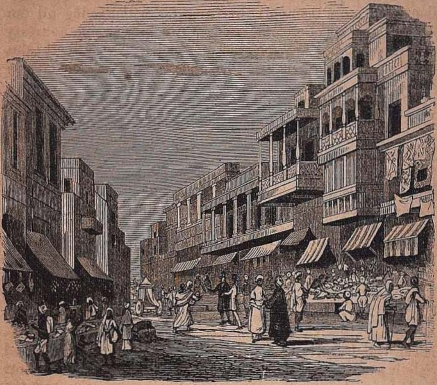
ordered and well-fought battles, reduced the Afghan pride; and therefore it was universally felt that we had little else to do than to evacuate a country which we ought never to have entered, and leave the Khans and Clans to their own savage anarchy. From that day to this their feuds and internal warfare appear never to have ceased. On the 1st of October, 1842, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation from Simla, the spot where Lord Auckland had declared the war, stating that, as our disasters had been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British army would be withdrawn to the Sutledge. And on the 12th of October, after destroying the fortifications, the grand bazaar, two mosques, and other buildings, the British troops evacuated Cabul, and marched off in three divisions for India.

Lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General in the early part of 1842, now resolved to interfere no farther in the affairs of Cabul, and to allow Dost Mahommed to return with his family as soon as all the troops had left the country. The last division recrossed the Indus early in November, 1842, and the deposed monarch, his wives, daughters, and other members of his household, were conducted to the frontiers of Afghanistan, of which country he resumed the government.

Lord Auckland, who had been dragged into the war by the vanity and presumption of other men, saw his error when it was too late, and then inclined too ready an ear to the counsels of desponding and timid men. The idea was seriously entertained of withdrawing the troops which so gallantly held out at Candahar and Jellalabad, of evacuating every part of Afghanistan, trusting to negociation and money for the liberation of our prisoners, leaving our disgrace unremedied, our prestige completely broken. It is now no secret that an order to this effect was actually issued by his lordship. But, most fortunately, Lord Auckland was recalled and immediately succeeded by a Governor-General of a less despondent temperament. Lord Ellenborough had been President of the Board of Control during the Duke of Wellington's administration, and was believed to be unusually well versed in Indian affairs. When he arrived in India, on the 28th of February, 1842, dismay or discouragement was in all parts, and irresolution and confusion everywhere. At first his lordship adopted the

notion of his predecessor; and it is said that positive instructions were more than once drawn up for withdrawing all our troops, and concluding a treaty with men whom no treaty could bind. But this mood of mind lasted a very short time, and from the happy moment when his lordship in Council pronounced the word "Forward!" all went well.

The heroes of this war were Sale, Nott, Pollock, Dennie, Monteith, Broadfoot, Fenwick, Havelock, Mayne, Pattison, Oldfield; but others displayed both conduct and valour. Nott held out in Candahar when the struggle seemed hopeless. Sale maintained himself in Jellalabad in spite of his numerous besiegers, semi-starvation, and earthquakes. In little more than one month the crumbling, crazy walls of Jellalabad were shaken by one hundred distinct shocks of earthquakes. Some of these were very violent. All the ramparts which Sale had built up were shaken down, several of his bastions were injured, all his guard-houses were laid prostrate, a considerable breach was made in the curtain of a rampart, the Cabul gate was reduced to a shapeless mass of ruins, and about one-third of the town itself was demolished. After the siege of Jellalabad had lasted several months, General Pollock relieved Sale in a soldierly manner, and then went on with him and Nott to Cabul. It was Sir Richmond Shakspeare who had the honour and delight of recovering the English ladies and the other prisoners, whom he found sitting under the walls of a ruined fort, sheltering themselves from the sun.



Bazaar in Bombay.

ARTS AND CUSTOMS.

THE termination of the war was celebrated by the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, with great public festivities at Ferozepore, the capital of a small state lately acquired by the East India Company, in consequence of the death of an aged princess, who died without heirs. Ferozepore was, under the Mogul emperors, a city of considerable importance, being advantageously situated for commerce near the Sutlej, which communicates with the Indus; and as the passage of the latter

has been secured, for the purposes of trade, by the recent conquest of Scinde, Ferozepore has a fair prospect of being restored to all its former prosperity. Steam-vessels drawing little water now ascend the Indus, and proceed by the Sutlej, a distance of nine hundred and fifty miles, to that city, where the population has been lately increased by fresh settlers, desirous of benefiting by the newly-opened trade. A fair has been established, the city enlarged and improved by the erection of several handsome bazaars; and it is anticipated that Ferozepore will shortly become one of the chief commercial towns of India.

The administration of Lord Ellenborough has thus been distinguished by the opening of the Indus to merchant-ships of all nations; and also by another vast benefit, that of the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions in India, whereby an important step in the moral and social condition of the people has been attained. There is, however, still one great bar to the perfect civilization of the Hindūs. Christianity has hitherto made but a very limited progress among them, so that, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of European missionaries, the great mass of the Indians are idol-worshippers, and retain most of the customs appertaining to idolatry, so that their domestic habits cannot materially differ from those of their forefathers, since almost every act they perform has some references the to uperstitions of their religion. The number of converts has always been small, and is likely to be increased only as the minds of the people become more enlightened ; an effect which, it is hoped (though doubted by some), may result from the educational system pursued by the British government.

All the cities esteemed holy by the Hindūs are still visited, at particular seasons, by crowds of pilgrims, who are only restrained from the excesses which formerly disgraced their worship by the influence of British authority. The temple of Juggernaut is still the most frequented, and immense sums of money are lavished on the maintenance of a numerous establishment in honour of its hideous idol, the expenses of which are paid chiefly out of the revenues derived from the temple lands. The tax on pilgrims has lately been abolished. The Hindū festivals are usually observed with great gaiety; but the splendid spectacles and processions that used to be

exhibited by the native princes have since degenerated into paltry shows for the amusement of the rabble.

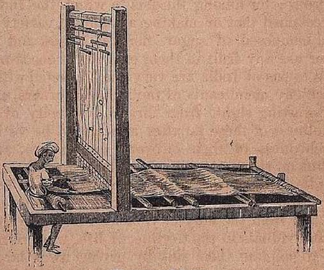
The progress of education, added to their increased intercourse with Europeans, has greatly modified the scruples of the Hindūs with regard to caste, especially among the higher orders, whose prejudices appear to be giving way, by degrees, to more enlarged views. The lower classes adhere generally to the superstitions of their creed, but the castes are now so numerous, and the distinctions frequently so slight, that it is very difficult for them to keep the line of separation.

It will be a relief and an agreeable contrast, after reviewing the scenes of warfare, bloodshed, and massacre enacted in Afghanistan in the years 1841-2, if we now dwell for a brief space on the arts and customs of the natives of India. These, in many respects, carry us back to the time of Alexander the Great, or to still more ancient days; so few have been the changes effected by time which (in Europe at least) changes all things with a bewildering rapidity.

The domestic arts of the Hindūs are many and various, for there is scarcely any trade that is not practised by them; and almost every considerable town is famous for some particular art or manufacture. Thus, Patna, a wealthy city on the Ganges, and the great mart for opium, is celebrated for its table-linen and wax candles; Benares, for its rich brocades; Monghir, another town on the Ganges, for steel and iron goods; Calcutta and Moorshedabad for curious and elegant toys; while Delhi surpasses all other cities for the ingenuity of its goldsmiths and jewellers. The manufacture of paper has been improved, of late years, by the introduction of a steam-engine at Serampore, the capital of the Danish settlements in India; and great improvements have also been made in the mechanical arts.

There can be little doubt that the system of hereditary trades (every one in India following the trade of his father) secures greater individual skill than would be obtainable if each young man were to follow his own bent and choose a trade for himself, as among us. In the more useful arts the natives may be said to be as far advanced as they can be without modern science or machinery. Their weavers are at least equal to our hand-loom weavers; their carpenters and blacksmiths show wonderful skill with small means, and they will

make anything that can be made without great machinery. Indeed, in some parts of the country, the skill of the natives as workers in iron, steel, and brass, is altogether admirable. Some of the guns captured by Lord Hardinge in the Sikh war surpassed, in strength as well as in beauty, anything of the sort that had ever been seen in Europe or elsewhere. Well-skilled Frenchmen and Italians superintended the construction, but guns, carriages, and all things about them were the work of poor natives. In general it may be said that the manufactures of India have not materially improved. The people wrought with great skill in metals under the earliest of the Mogul emperors. Everything is still woven and manufactured in the ancient manner.



Weaver and Loom.

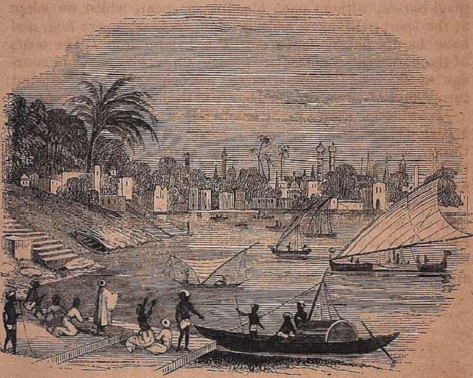
Delhi is the famous mart for the shawls and superb embroidery of India. The modern city is called by the natives Shahjehanabad, from the Emperor Shah Jehan, its founder, who built the imperial palace, which is enclosed by a wall of red granite a mile in circumference. The celebrated gardens of Shalimar, laid out by the same Emperor, at a cost of a million of money, are now destroyed. Beyond the site of these gardens, to the south, extending for some miles, are the ruins of the ancient capital, exhibiting the remains of its once splendid palaces, mosques, and minarets, which form a singular contrast to the new suburb of European villas and

cantonments. The British resident occupies the palace that formerly belonged to Ali Merdan Khan, but which has been modernised for the sake of convenience. The streets of Delhi are hot, crowded, and dusty. English carriages are in use there, and are seen intermingled with the sedans, palanquins, and little chaises, drawn by bullocks, which are common in many of the cities of India; besides which, elephants, camels, and horses, gaily caparisoned, are continually passing. It is the custom for all great men, when riding out in state, to have their titles proclaimed aloud before them; and the approach of the Emperor is announced by kettle-drums, when all persons dismount as the cortège goes by. The shops of Delhi exhibit all kinds of European goods, and confectioners are numerous; for among the arts in which the Indians excel may be reckoned that of making an infinite variety of sweetmeats, all composed of sugar, flour, molasses, and spices, for they never use any fruit in them except the cocoa-nut.

All the towns of India are very much infested with beggars, who are chiefly mendicants of the religious orders, and present a most disgusting sight, from dirt and scarcity of clothing; for the holiness of these fanatics appears to be estimated by the wretchedness of their outward appearance, and people bestow alms on them accordingly. Benares is the great resort of these idle, useless beings, who are there sure of constant donations from the multitudes of pilgrims that are always going to and from the holy city, as also from the numbers of wealthy individuals in the decline of life, who repair thither in hopes to expiate their sins by giving away large sums in indiscriminate charity. Benares is a British station, but the cantonments are at Secrole, some little distance from the city, and about five hundred miles from Calcutta.

The mode of travelling in India renders all long journeys extremely tedious, difficult, and dangerous. The conveyance is by means of a kind of litter, called a palanquin, carried by men, who are changed, like post-horses, at every ten or twelve miles, there being regular postmasters at certain towns and villages, who take care that a fresh set of bearers shall be in readiness when wanted. The usual number of these is twelve: eight to carry the vehicle, which is slung on pôles; two for the luggage, and two to act as torch-bearers. They are generally found honest and faithful to their trust, but have

sometimes been known to abandon their charge in cases of danger, particularly on the appearance of a tiger, the dread of all travellers in the unfrequented parts of the country.



Benares.

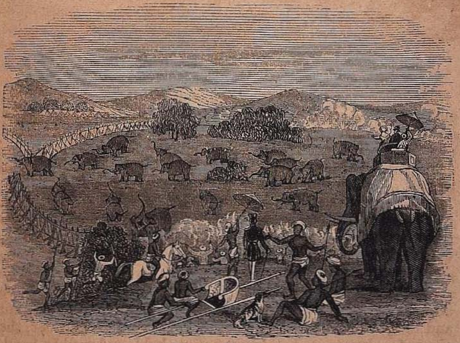
Tiger-hunting has always been a favourite sport in India, and used to be conducted with great pomp, and on a very grand scale, by the native princes, whose retinue sometimes consisted of 20,000 persons. The chase of the wild hog is also an Indian sport, in which the Europeans take great delight, and in the pursuit of which they frequently rouse a tiger from his lair.

The tiger-hunt, when conducted on a grand scale, presents a noble image of war, and is attended with sufficient danger to render it rather a seriously exciting pastime. Hog-hunting, with a lance or spear, and without any fire-arms, is a noble sport, and one well adapted to improve a cavalry officer. The sportsman depends entirely on his own adroitness. To have any chance of distinguishing himself he must have the seat and the judgment of a fox-hunter, the eye of a falconer, the arm of a lancer, and a horse active, bold, and well in hand.

The art of following the headlong progress of a hog through covert is to be gained only by experience. Young hands will ride boldly and furiously all the day, and tire two or three good horses, without once blooding a spear, whilst an adept at the sport will have had the first spear at every hog, and have hardly put his horse out of a hand-gallop. The boars of the northern provinces are greatly inferior in size and courage to those of Bengal, who will not bear much driving, but turn round and come to the charge at the slightest provocation.

Hawking is a sport still much followed in many parts of India. There is a very small hawk, scarcely so large as a thrush, which is flown at quails, sparrows, and other small birds, and affords much amusement by the rapidity and sureness of its flight. It is thrown from the hand like a cricket-ball.

Elephants are caught in their wild state, by being hunted into an enclosure, prepared for the purpose, which is surrounded by a strong fence and deep ditch, to prevent their escape. These ponderous creatures are found in all the forests and jungles of the southern and eastern provinces, and are



Trapping Elephants.

taken by the natives, who assemble for that purpose in large bands, furnished with fire-arms for their own protection, and with all kinds of noisy instruments to frighten the animals, who are thus driven towards the enclosure, which they are induced to enter by the fruits and other tempting baits that are within it, full in view. A whole herd is thus sometimes drawn into the enclosure, the entrance of which is then closed upon them; and they are tamed by degrees, being securely fastened to the trees, and fed by their mahouts, or men who are to be their drivers, whose business it is to tame and render them fit for service. Each elephant thus learns to obey his own mahout, although he would, perhaps, be refractory under the guidance of any other driver.

The natives of India, whether Hindū or Mohammedan, attach importance to a grand equipage and a numerous body of attendants: and these outward signs of dignity are so essential to persons holding official situations, in order to secure to them a due share of respect, that it is often necessary for an English family to keep an establishment of from twenty to thirty servants; an arrangement that is indeed scarcely to be avoided on another account; for the greater number of these serving men are Hindūs, who are very careful to observe the rules of caste in one point, that of not interfering with each other's duties; so that every trifling occupation is allotted to some particular individual, who will perform that one and no other. The expense, however, of keeping so large an establishment, is not very great, as the wages of native servants are small, and they furnish themselves with food and clothing; for no Hindū would eat of a dish that had been set before a Christian. They live chiefly on rice and vegetables, and sleep in huts near their master's house. Almost all the household duties are performed by men, such as dusting the rooms, making the beds, sweeping the floors, and a variety of offices that usually fall to the lot of women in Europe, the only female domestics employed in English families being ladies' maids and nurses. Owing to the religious prejudices of the Hindūs, the cooks and men who wait at table are always Mohammedans.

The Indian system of husbandry has already been noticed. The farms are, in general, small, and the wealth of the farmer is usually estimated by the number of his bullocks. The

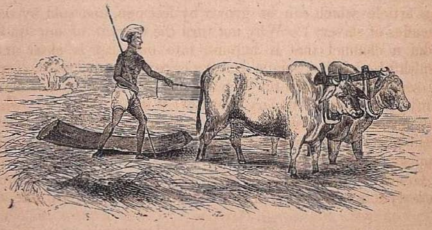
staple food of the people is rice, but potatoes have been introduced into every part of the country, and very excellent wheat is grown in the northern and western provinces.

Hindū Farmyard.

The thrashing is performed by bullocks, two or more of which are yoked together, and driven over a quantity of sheaves spread on the ground; and thus the grain is trodden out very quickly. The rice or corn is then cleared from the husks by large fans, and the straw is formed into stacks for the cattle, as hay is not known in India.

A recent writer who has lived long in the country, and who appears to be well qualified to deliver an authoritative opinion, extols the agriculture, and says it is an art in which their skill is most remarkable. He says that Mill, one of the historians of British India, evinces his want of knowledge of the country in nothing so much as in his depreciation of their agriculture. "They have not large capital or machinery, large farms or scientific farmers, as in rich modern countries;

but their system is suited to the country, and the proof of their excellence is in the crops they raise and the fact that, with all their rudeness and our skill, no European has ever been able to compete with them for a moment in any agricultural product, though he can get land and labour as cheap as they can. As a general rule, farming is not carried on by hired labourers. A man has his own little farm, ploughs and cultivates it himself; he generally has sons or brothers to assist. He may occasionally hire labour, and certain services are performed by the inferior inhabitants of the village. But large farms there are not. What is wanting to small cultivators is supplied by their union in village communities; the community has its common artificers, and bankers, and watchmen, and thrashing-places. The plough is light and rude, yet may be suited to the soil, climate, and light draft cattle, and certainly no European has ever made anything of a heavier and deeper instrument. The fields are manipulated to a very great degree, ploughed and reploughed a dozen times, and reduced to a powder without a clod or a knot. The result is that excellent crops are obtained from wonderfully dry-looking soil, and an English farmer would be astonished to see grain-crops where it may not have rained for three or four months. To appreciate the skill of the natives a man must try a little cultivation on his own account, and see whether he can make it pay, or in any way succeed so well. I have tried it, and have seen a good deal of experiment. The rotation of crops,



ndian Thrashing.

and art of keeping up the virtues of the soil, is well understood. The capital expended on the cultivation of the more valuable crops, and on wells and works of that kind, is not inconsiderable."*

During the long period that war and anarchy raged throughout the land, vast districts were depopulated, and the fertile soil was left with none to till it. There has not yet been time to fill up these gaps. In the ceded districts of the Balaghaut alone it is reckoned that there are 300,000 acres of waste lands which were once cultivated and fruitful, and which, instead of being covered with forest and jungle that would require to be cleared, are at this moment fit for the husbandman, for the seed and the harvest.

This soil is said to be admirably suited to the production of cotton. If due encouragement were given to the growth of cotton, there seems to be little doubt that it might be exported to England as good in quality and as large in quantity as that which is now brought from America. We have ruined our own West Indian colonies by putting a stop to effective slave labour, yet, in strange and monstrous contradiction, we purchase the commodities with which those colonies supplied us from great slave-holding states. Not a hogshead of sugar comes from Cuba, nor a bale of cotton from the United States, but is wholly and solely the produce of slave labour. "Why not patronise the productions of our own East Indian territories? Why prefer the article (cotton) that is raised by the hands of slaves, and sold for the interest of slave-holders, to the article which can be grown by freemen, and sold by the enemies of slavery? Why not turn the current of our trade from a channel that is impure, into one that is clear and healthful, and thus compel the Americans to abolish slavery, or seek a new market for their goods?" These are questions put by a Scotch Missionary (the Rev. William Campbell) who has not been many years returned from the East, and they seem entitled to demand the serious attention of our abolitionists, if of none others.

Generally the pleasure-gardens may be said to be laid out in a style between the Persian and Chinese, and to partake of

* 'Modern India and its Government.' By George Campbell, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

both. Shady walks, and large tanks or sheets of water, are the great objects, and to these is usually added an open, cool, elegant pavilion, situated, if practicable, near some natural or artificial cascade, and "bosomed deep with tufted trees." Here the luxurious Asiatic loves to spend the sultry hours of the day, in the society of his females. He also forms parties on the margin of the tank or the canal, to enjoy the refreshing breezes of the evening; and for his accommodation, banks of earth are raised at proper distances from the water, and covered with carpets, or the stone steps which lead down to the edge of the water are furnished with coverings and cushions. In some instances, where the tanks are sunk deep into the earth, and where the water subsides in the hot season, galleries are built round the tank, one beneath another, and communicating with each other by flights of steps: in these galleries, suspended over the water, they seek retirement and a cool atmosphere, descending from gallery to gallery as the water sinks lower and lower. Some of these retreats are described as being truly delightful during the great heats, when a refreshing coolness is to be found nowhere above ground. Wherever the Mussulmans carried their arms and secured a peaceful possession, the cypress-tree is found as the prime ornament of grove and garden, and rears its tall head by the side of every tomb. Some odoriferous flowers and shrubs they grow remarkably well, and with these the best of their gardens abound, much skill being shown in the selection of such soils and situations as are best calculated to promote their growth and display their beauties to advantage. It is deemed that offerings most grateful to their fabulous divinities are wreaths, garlands, and festoons of flowers. Hence their cultivation is the more attended to. The paths leading to the pavilion are commonly irregular and tortuous, which gives a wildness and air of nature to the whole ground. The gardeners form classes apart, and have sundry distinctions and privileges. These garden classes, when working for themselves, mostly seek rich alluvial lands, and are the great producers of sugar-cane, tobacco, and such finer crops. They are by no means martial, and hardly ever take service as sepoys or act in any other way as soldiers.

The private houses in the country differ in convenience and elegance, according to the circumstances of rank and fortune;

but very few of them can boast of much splendour. The habitations of the common run of Hindūs, which occupy by far the greatest part of the citizen towns, are low, and of very humble appearance, being principally clay-built cottages, or built of bricks plentifully mixed with straw and merely dried in the sun, seldom rising more than a single story, and being thatched with reeds, rice-straw, the broad leaves of trees, and the like. But in the principal street and market-place of a large town, these houses are rather better, having a kind of colonnade in the front of each, which is extended the whole length of the street, or on all the four sides of the square or market-place; and banks of earth thrown up under the shade of this colonnade, and covered with carpets, serve either to expose their goods to sale, or to afford the occupiers of the houses seats and reclining places whereon to enjoy the inestimable blessing of the evening breeze—when such breeze blows. But most of these houses must be dark and incommodious within, as they have no windows towards the street, and the back parts of them are usually crowded by other buildings, which exclude light and air. But the mansions of the grandees, and the palaces of the still numerous petty princes, who keep their state and have ample revenues, although their political power is gone from them, are not so wholly destitute of elegance. They are generally built in a court-yard, the front wall of which is pierced and adorned by a grand gate of entrance, in front of which is a portico supported by columns. These columns are often of stone, and tastefully executed; at other times they are of wood, painted with brilliant colours and coated over with a thick varnish. Under this portico, gradini, or seats of earth, are also raised, which being covered with Persian carpets, and furnished with cushions of scarlet cloth, produce a rather rich effect. On these seats, or under the portico by the great gate, the chief sits to receive visits and despatch ordinary business. It is on some of these occasions that a full display is made of his consequence, in the richness and elegance of his dress and arms, the brilliancy of his jewels, and the number of his surrounding guards and attendants, many of whom bear silver maces, or white staves tipped with burnished silver or gold; all borrowing additional lustre from the light and splendour of numerous lamps and cressets, which in the evening, the usual time of

the chief's appearance in the portico, are lighted up on all sides, some being suspended from the roof, and some affixed to every column. It is a scene of the Arabian Nights.

The private houses of the Mussulman inhabitants are nearly in the style of those of Persia and Asiatic Turkey. Formerly the gateways of those of high condition were fortified and defended by pieces of artillery; a precaution not unnecessary in a country where sudden revolutions frequently took place, and where a few hours of deliberation, which might by this means be generally obtained, enabled the occupier either to effect his escape, or to collect a party strong enough to oppose his assailants. These houses have universally a divan or large hall, appropriated to the reception of company or the despatch of important business. This hall is usually open to the court-yard or garden. They have also another spacious apartment for eating, which is commonly refreshed by a fountain; and here they often sleep in the middle of the day, lulled to slumber by the perpetual plash of the falling water, which also contributes to the coolness of the room. The Harem, or Zenana, or apartments of the females, as in all other parts of the East where the religion of Mahommed prevails, as well as in many parts where that faith has never penetrated, are separate from the house, and situated behind it; no care engaging the attention of a Mussulman so much as the security and concealment of his women.

The houses neither of Mussulmans nor Hindūs are much encumbered with furniture. In both are broad low sofas by way of seats, running along the sides of the rooms; chairs there are none, and their tables are small and occasional, being brought in when they are to be used; but the floors are universally spread with carpets or fine mats; and these, with the super-addition of mattresses and light coverlets, serve also for beds. A bed-room, in our English sense, is unknown. They sleep in any room that may be the coolest or otherwise the most comfortable. In the morning the servant takes up the bed and walks. Mattrasses and coverlets are deposited in recesses made in the walls, to be brought out again whenever and wherever wanted. In the day-time the room where several may have slept overnight is unencumbered and free for any other use. In the best houses the best apartments are ornamented with European looking-glasses, chandeliers, time-

pieces, and nicknacks; and the ceilings are often inlaid with a mixture of ivory, ebony, rose-wood, and mother-of-pearl, in flowers and other pretty devices, which by the light of lamps produces a brilliant and agreeable effect.

The effect usually produced by the cities of India on the young cadet or other stranger travelling through the country for the first time, is one of disappointment. The town he enters looks just like the town he has left; all seem to wear the same monotonous and mean aspect. The holy city of Benares is but a congeries of mean, crowded houses, in narrow, crooked streets; Allahabad is no better, and the old, native part of the far-famed city of Delhi is rather worse. Among old travellers it is usual to compare the towns and cities of India with those of Asiatic Turkey, than which nothing of the sort can well be conceived more monotonous and paltry. The architectural beauty and the splendour of the cities of Hindūstan must be looked for in the public squares and bazaars, in the mosques and mausoleums, in a palace here and there, and occasionally in the broad stately stone ghauts or flights of steps which lead down to the banks of the Ganges or other rivers.

In painting, much cannot yet be said of the *Native* School of Art. No people in the world, not even the Chinese, are better copyists; but their original designs are uncouth, wildly grotesque, and out of all drawing. Their artists delight in the most gaudy colours, and (except in delineating the gaudy plumage of birds, or flowers, or fruits) lay them on without much attention to truth or nature.

We apprehend that much more cannot be said in praise of the native music. Except where they have the assistance of Europeans, their orchestra is composed of small drums, called tom-toms, long shrill pipes, and a kind of cymbals: it is dreadfully loud and by no means harmonious. Like all the Eastern music we ever heard, it is exceedingly monotonous to an ear accustomed to the cadences and varied harmony of our music. The natives, however, are passionately fond of it as it is; and will sit and listen for hours to the beating of tom-toms and the screaming of pipes. The instrumental accompaniments of the Natch-girls, though always popular, is seldom supportable to a refined ear. It is said, however, that some of the melodies are soft, melancholy, and pleasing.

During the hot season there are women who stroll about the streets of Calcutta, usually carrying an infant in a kind of tray slung over one shoulder, which leaves both hands at liberty for the management of a sort of rude two-stringed guitar. They stop at the gate of every European house, or before every group of natives, when they think they may obtain the smallest piece of money in return for their minstrelsy. They are said to be not very fastidious in their endeavours to suit the subject of their song to the taste of their auditors. The author of the "Stranger in India" makes particular mention of two of these Calcutta glee-women. The music of one of them was severely harsh and disagreeable, the other sang the same air softly, sweetly, and with much feeling. The writer adds—"The different styles in which they sang, the totally different impressions they made with the same air, convinced me that much of the native music may be intrinsically good, but ruined in the performance. It cannot well be otherwise, so far as the instruments are concerned, for they have none, save a rude flageolet, or pipe; a small violin, invariably held as if it were a violoncello; a very little better lyre: the rude two-stringed guitar; very small, thick, jangling cymbals; and the eternally heard tom-tom." Sir William Jones concluded that the arts which flourished many centuries ago had faded for want of culture; yet there appears never to have been a time in which the natives were not exceedingly fond of music. The Hindūs attribute the origin of some of their ancient melodies to their gods, holding them to be far too beautiful to be the productions of mortal men. They also tell most marvellous and incredible stories of the effects produced by some of their old musicians. Thus Mia Tousin, a wonderful musician in the time of the Emperor Akber, sang so powerfully that he converted mid-day into dark night; and the darkness extended in a circle round the palace, as far as the sound of his voice could be heard. A singing-girl chanted to much better effect; by exerting the powers of her voice she could draw down from the clouds timely and refreshing showers on the parched rice-crops of Bengal, and thereby avert the horrors of famine.

Counter-point seems not to have entered, at any time, into the system of Indian or any other Asiatic music.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. SIR HENRY HARDINGE.

THE Afghan war has been followed by other events of much greater relative importance to the power of the British Empire, which is now more firmly established and far more widely extended over India than that of the Moguls ever was, even under their most potent princes. The principal historical facts are, the conquest of Scinde, the revolution in the Punjab, and the victories of Gwalior, which have brought that state completely under the control of the British government.

Immediately after the restoration of Dost Mahommed to the throne of Cabul, fresh disputes arose between the English government and the Ameers of Scinde, relative to the free navigation of the Indus, and the cession, according to treaty, of certain forts with their territories on the banks of that river. A detachment of British troops was therefore sent into the country, under the command of Sir Charles Napier, with a view of forcing the Ameers to fulfil their engagements. This small force, which did not amount to three thousand men, was attacked near Hyderabad by the whole Scindian army, composed of several warlike tribes, numbering, in all, above twenty thousand soldiers, commanded by the Ameers in person, who, after a long and well-fought battle, gave up the contest, and surrendered themselves prisoners on the field. The victors then took possession of the capital, Hyderabad, a mean town, consisting chiefly of mud hovels, at the base of an eminence on the summit of which stands the fort, in which treasures were found to the amount of above a million of money.

Although the principal Ameers had given themselves up to the English, great efforts were made by the other chiefs to

maintain their independence, and another battle took place on the 24th of March, 1843, the result of which has added the province of Scinde to the British dominions. The Ameers were sent as state prisoners to Bombay, and Sir Charles Napier, the successful general, was appointed Governor of the country he had conquered. Slavery was immediately abolished throughout the whole territory of Scinde, and the river Indus was declared open to ships of all nations.

In the mean time the kingdom of Lahore had been in a state of the utmost confusion, in consequence of the civil wars that followed the death of Kurruck Singh. The British government took no part in these dissensions, but maintained a friendly intercourse with Shere Singh, in order to secure for the troops in Afghanistan a free passage through the Punjab, from Cabul to British India.

The condition of the country was, at this time, extremely wretched. The great Sik army, which had been organised by Runjeet Singh on the European system, and which in his time had been a powerful force, commanded by European officers, was now disbanded; the roads were infested with banditti, who plundered the villages with impunity, and, in many instances, set them on fire; so that the miserable peasants were wandering about everywhere, without the means of procuring food or shelter, while the government was too weak to afford them protection, and the king was regarded in the light of a usurper by many of the greatest nobles of the kingdom.

Shere Singh, however, maintained his seat on the throne, until the month of September, 1843, when he was assassinated by some of the chiefs, in his gardens, during the celebration of a public festival; and his son shared the same fate. The citadel of Lahore was then seized by the conspirators; Dhyan Singh, the minister, was shot, and the wives and children of the murdered princes were barbarously massacred. But the success of the insurgents was of short duration, for they were defeated before the close of the same day, by the opposite faction, who captured their leader, and placed on the throne Dhulleep Singh, a boy only seven years of age, said to be a son of the great Runjeet. For a time the government was conducted by the minister Heera Singh, but the country was still in a very unsettled and miserable condition.

It now remains to speak of the affairs of Gwalior, and to

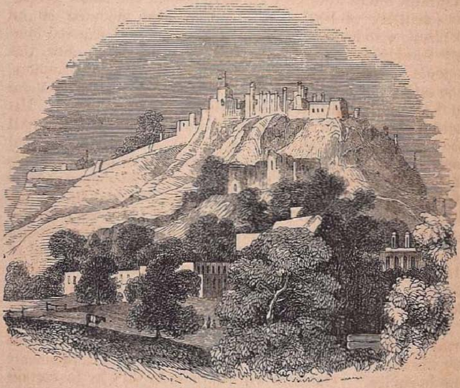
trace the circumstances that have at length destroyed the independence of that state, so long preserved under the government of the family of Sindia. The last of those powerful princes died in 1827, leaving no son to succeed him. In such cases it is customary in many parts of India for the widow of the deceased sovereign to select from amongst his relatives some youth to be his successor, and she acts as regent until the adopted heir becomes of age, or she chooses to resign her authority.

This was the course pursued by Baiza Bye, the widow of Sindia, who ruled over the extensive dominions of her late husband till the year 1831, when Jhundkoo Rao, the chosen prince, became impatient to possess the sovereign power, which she was not disposed so soon to relinquish. A violent contest ensued, which was terminated, through the mediation of the British government, in favour of Jhundkoo Rao, who was acknowledged as Maharaja, while the queen consented to retire on a pension of ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000 a year, to be paid out of the revenues of the state. Jhundkoo Rao Sindia died in December, 1843, under the same circumstances, with regard to the succession, as his predecessor; and as there was no direct heir, the British government interfered so far as to direct, or rather to sanction, the choice of the widowed Maharanee, or Queen, who adopted her deceased husband's nearest relative, Jyngee Rao Sindia, a boy, who assumed the title of Maharaja.

The Mama Sahib, a chief known to be friendly to the British interests, was appointed regent during the minority; and for some time acted in that capacity; but he was no favourite with the Maharanee, who was, in fact, at the head of a faction hostile to the English, and desirous of deposing the regent appointed by their authority. He was at length expelled, and a rival chief, the Dada Khasgee Walla, placed at the head of the government. This assumption of independence on the part of the Queen and her partizans, together with the conduct of the new minister, whose undisguised animosity towards the English seemed likely to occasion some trouble, caused the Governor-General of India (still Lord Ellenborough) to adopt prompt and decisive measures for future security, by reducing the dominions of Sindia to a more complete state of subjection. With this view, a British army,

accompanied by the Governor-General, entered the territories of Gwalior towards the close of the year 1843, and proceeded direct towards the capital, where the Mahratta forces were in readiness to oppose them.

On the 29th of December two great victories were gained in the neighbourhood of Gwalior—the one at Maharajpore, by Sir Hugh Gough; the other at Punniar, by General Grey. These two engagements cost the lives of many of our brave countrymen, but they effectually put an end to the factions that threatened to disturb the peace of the Indo-British empire, and will be the means of annexing a large and opulent state to our eastern dominions.



Fort of Gwalior.

The fort of Gwalior, so long celebrated for its commanding situation and apparent impregnability, was surrendered immediately after these battles, when the queen and the leading chiefs, with the young Maharaja, presented themselves in the English camp, to make submission, and give up the obnoxious

minister; a concession that had previously been demanded and refused.

The tranquillity of the state being thus restored, the young Maharaja was placed on the throne, and the government was in future to be conducted under the superintendence of British authorities.

We have mentioned that Lord Ellenborough took the field with the army, when it advanced upon Gwalior. To that army, and to the whole army of India, his Lordship was warmly attached, and he had given it all the encouragement, and conferred upon it all the plaudits and benefits that he could command. In the sanguinary affair of Maharajpore, where the Mahratta forces were very strongly posted, and had a tremendous artillery of 100 guns, his Lordship, mounted on an elephant, watched the battle close at hand, and exposed himself frankly to cannon ball and musket bullet. For this conduct he was censured, but not by the brave English soldiers, who said it did their hearts good to see the Governor-General on the ground, and that they fought all the better for it. His Lordship's popularity in the army did not extend to the civil service, in whose ranks he had many and bitter personal enemies. Lending, perhaps, a too ready ear to the complaints of these "politicals," and taking umbrage and offence at some of his proceedings, and some of his omissions, and having by their charter, and Mr. Pitt's India Bill of 1784, the power so to do, the Court of Directors recalled Lord Ellenborough towards the end of April, 1844, without asking the consent of Her Majesty's ministers, and apparently without even consulting with them. At a farewell entertainment given to him by the military at Calcutta, his Lordship said—"The only regret I feel at leaving India is, that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life has been that which I have passed here in cantonments and in camps." Opinions will continue to vary as to certain parts of his Lordship's demeanour, and some acts of his government; but these will ever remain facts capable of proof—he retrieved our honour and prestige in Afghanistan; he recovered our captives when on their way to slavery among the barbarians of Central Asia; he broke up the very bad government of the Ameers of Sinde; he trampled out, at Gwalior, the last spark of that Mahratta fire which had so

often set India in a blaze; he found the army disheartened, and a notorious want of discipline in a great portion of it, and he left that army full of heart and confidence, with its discipline restored.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE. THE WAR IN THE PUNJAB.

Lord Ellenborough was superseded by Sir Henry Hardinge, an experienced officer, who served with great distinction in the long Peninsular war, and at the battle of Ligny, where he had the misfortune to lose his left arm. His Indian appointment gave universal satisfaction. There was no where a better soldier, or a truer man, or a better man of business. He united gentleness with firmness to a degree of which human nature is not often capable. To say everything in one word, he was a *Christian* soldier and statesman. He arrived at Calcutta in July, 1844, and began his government by such measures as were most likely to maintain peace, and advance the civilization of the country; but these pacific intentions were speedily frustrated, and he was compelled by circumstances to engage in a war, the success of which has not only extended the British dominion in India, but has probably been the means of preserving it also.

Ever since the death of Kurruck Singh, the kingdom of Lahore had been one continued scene of anarchy. The government was too weak to keep the army in subordination, and that powerful body, like the Turkish Janissaries, before they were put down by the late Sultan Mahmoud, had assumed the right of setting up and deposing the rulers at their pleasure. The Ranee, or Queen Mother, who acted as Regent for her son, disliked the minister Heera Singh, who was murdered in a rebellion of the soldiers, of which she was believed to be the instigator, at the beginning of 1845, after which, her own brother Jewahir, who had headed the insurrection, was made prime minister, and remained in power till the end of the year, when another revolution took place, and he met with a fate similar to that of his predecessors. The confusion and

misrule that prevailed at Lahore, and certain indications of a hostile disposition towards the British government, induced the Governor-General to send several regiments to the frontiers, to protect the British possessions, in case of invasion, but with a full determination not to go to war, unless the safety of the empire was endangered.

While the Governor-General was thus preparing for a war in the north of India, Sir Charles Napier was earning fresh laurels in Sinde, where the British authority was still resisted by some of the mountain tribes, whose depredations in the districts around the locality, prevented the establishment of good order; and acted as a check upon the industry of the peaceful inhabitants.

In the month of January, 1845, the gallant conqueror of Sinde undertook an expedition against this formidable banditti, with a force of 7,000 men; and after a long search, and the endurance of many hardships in a rugged, barren country, he discovered the principal chief, Beejar Khan, with his people, in a strongly-fortified position on the summit of a lofty ridge of hills. Our troops forced their way through a narrow defile, which was the only approach to the fort, into which, after some firing on both sides, they effected an entrance. Very little resistance was offered. Several chiefs surrendered themselves prisoners; while their followers, consisting of three different tribes, being thus left without leaders, made no farther opposition. Beejar Khan escaped; but he has since offered to submit, on condition that his life shall be spared, and some land granted him. It was resolved that the three predatory tribes should be settled on the banks of the Indus, where lands were to be given them to cultivate; while their mountain country was made over to the Murrees, a friendly nation already under the protection of the British government.

In the mean time, the signs of a war with the Siks were growing more manifest, until at length little doubt could be entertained that they were contemplating an attack on the British territories.

The government of Lahore continued in a very unsettled state; and although the Rannee and her ministers pretended to the British authorities that the hostile movements of the troops were not sanctioned by them, it is well known they encouraged the invasion as a means of ridding themselves of

a turbulent soldiery, of whom they were in perpetual fear. The court astrologer was even consulted as to the best day for the march of the troops, and he narrowly escaped falling a sacrifice to their fury for naming one more distant than suited their inclinations. In short, the war was determined upon at Lahore, and the Sik army, consisting of not less than 50,000 warlike men, furnished with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and well trained in the European system of warfare, advanced towards the Sutlej in hostile array. It certainly appears to have been a most unprovoked aggression on the part of the Siks; and as they sought the war without even a pretext of quarrel or complaint, their fate is the less to be compassionated; and the greatest cause of regret is that so many of our gallant soldiers have fallen in the contest.

In consequence of the information he had received, the Governor-General left Calcutta on the 22nd September, and proceeded, by way of Agra and Delhi, to join the army on the Sutlej, where he offered his services as second in command to Sir Hugh Gough, who was Commander-in-Chief.

The Siks began to cross the river on the 11th December, and took up a position at Ferozeshah, a village about ten miles from the populous town of Ferozepore, and an equal distance from the village of Moodkee, the British head-quarters. Orders had been sent to the troops at Umballa to join the army without delay; and by forced marches, they performed the journey (one hundred and fifty miles) along heavy roads of sand, in six days, suffering greatly from fatigue and thirst, as no water was to be procured on the way.

On their arrival at Moodkee, on the 18th December, 1845, they found the enemy was then advancing in order to battle, and though nearly worn out with toil, they had but a short time to rest and refresh themselves, before the action commenced. It lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon till some time after nightfall, for the Siks fought with the utmost bravery, and it was not without considerable loss on our part that they were at length driven from the field, leaving behind them seventeen of their guns, which had been captured during the engagement, and some thousands of their fallen comrades.

Among the distinguished officers who fell at the battle of Moodkee, was Sir Robert Sale, who, with his lady, had lately

returned to India, having been in England since his memorable campaign in Afghanistan.

After this defeat, the Siks retreated to Ferozeshur, or Ferozeshah, where, for three days, they occupied themselves in raising strong entrenchments around their camp, which, on the 21st December, was attacked by Sir Hugh Gough, who had been reinforced by a detachment of troops from Ferozepore. This was a far more severe conflict than that at Moodkee, for the Siks had the advantage of firing from behind their batteries, which could not be destroyed without a frightful sacrifice of life. Ere the close of day, however, this was partially effected; but the event of the battle was still uncertain, for while it was yet raging, the night set in, and obliged the combatants to cease for awhile their deadly strife.

It was very cold and dark. The weary soldiers, without food or extra covering, laid down among their dead and dying companions, exposed to the cannonading of the enemy, which was kept up during the whole night. Sir Henry Hardinge, and the rest of the generals, remained in the field with the men doing all in their power to revive their spirits; and when daylight appeared, the attack was renewed, the enemy, after a long and bloody combat, was put to flight, and the camp taken.

Seventy-three pieces of cannon were captured in this engagement. But the numbers of the barbarians seemed inexhaustible, for the victors had scarcely congratulated each other on their success, when a fresh army was seen advancing, led by one of the chiefs who had just fled; and our brave troops had to begin a fresh battle, under all the disadvantages of exhausted strength and spirits. By exertions almost superhuman this army of reserve was put to flight, some of the chiefs were killed, and the British remained masters of the camp, in which were found stores of grain and ammunition, both greatly needed. The whole force of the Siks who had taken the field is estimated at about sixty thousand; while that of the British did not amount to more than one-third of that number.

Among the many distinguished officers who were present at the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, was Prince Waldemar, of Prussia, first cousin to the present king of that country, from whom he obtained permission, in 1844, to visit the

British dominions in India. He was a young man, a colonel of dragoons in the Prussian guards; and being desirous of gaining some military experience, he did not lose the opportunity, and behaved most gallantly during the whole of these severe engagements. He was accompanied by two Prussian officers of rank, Counts Grueben and Oriolo, who also highly distinguished themselves; and by his physician, Dr. Hoffmeister, who unfortunately was killed in the action at Ferozeshah.

In the sad hours and days which always follow the most brilliant victory, when obtained over a fighting, brave enemy, the amiable Christian character of the Governor-General was displayed to the greatest advantage. Sir Henry visited all the wounded, men and officers, and had a cheerful word or a word of comfort for all. The sufferers forgot their own pangs in the admiration which his kindness elicited. He re-visited them again and again, and watched over their welfare with a solicitude which could scarcely have been surpassed if they had all been his own children. Every little luxury to be obtained in the country was procured for them by his command, and by the vigilant care he took in seeing his orders obeyed. One little homely incident is well deserving of record. It was Christmas-eve, and Sir Henry, in going his rounds, heard one of the wounded men saying to his neighbour,—"To-morrow is Christmas-day, but we shall have no mince-pies!"—"Yes, you shall, my good fellow," said Sir Henry, who forthwith ordered pies to be made; and on the morrow more than a thousand mince pies smoked upon the board, and were distributed among the wounded soldiers.

The government of India granted a medal, inscribed with the word "Ferozeshah," to every individual engaged in the battle.

The Siks had retired to the other side of the Sutlej, and were assembling again in great force; so that it was evident that another battle would soon take place. They formed a bridge of boats across the river, over which they came in parties, on plundering expeditions; and about the middle of January 1846, established a camp within the bounds of the British territory, where they soon mustered to the amount of about twenty thousand.

The position they occupied was opposite the wealthy and populous city of Loodiana, from which a part of the protec-

tive force had been withdrawn, so that some fears were entertained for its safety; and Major-General Sir Harry Smith was, therefore, despatched from the main army with a body of troops, to unite with those remaining there, for the purpose of repelling any attacks in that quarter. The enemy being so posted as to intercept his march, the gallant commander did not accomplish his object without some severe skirmishing; but, at length, by a succession of skilful manœuvres, he formed a junction with the Loodiana forces, and having been strengthened by other detachments, advanced towards the Fort of Budhowal, the station of the Sik Chief, who drew off his army to a position on the Sutlej, a few miles off; while the British took possession of the abandoned fort. The General led on his army, which was now sufficiently strong to attack the Siks in their new encampment; but as they had been re-inforced with more troops and cannon, they boldly advanced, and the two armies met at the village of Aliwal, which has given its name to one of the most memorable battles recorded in the history of British India.

The battle of Aliwal was fought on the 28th of January, 1846, and ended in a complete victory over the enemy, whose loss was terrific; for in addition to the many hundred slain in the combat, great numbers perished in their despairing efforts to make their way across the river. Rich shawls and gold bracelets in abundance fell into the hands of the victors.

The immediate consequence of this engagement was that the whole of the territory on the left bank of the Sutlej submitted to the British government and the Lahore troops evacuated every fort that they had held on that side of the river.

But there was yet more to be done, for the main body of the Sikh army was still encamped on the opposite side of their fortified bridge, at the village of Sobraon, and until that army was entirely broken up, it was obvious that any pacific measures would be useless. Notwithstanding their repeated losses, they yet numbered about 30,000 men, and had seventy pieces of cannon remaining; added to which, they occupied a post that was very strongly fortified; so that our troops had before them the prospect of another sanguinary engagement.

Sir Harry Smith, with his forces, rejoined the Commander-in-Chief, and on the 10th of February, the battle of Sobraon terminated this eventful campaign.

The entrenched camp was attacked and taken by storm, after a most desperate struggle, in which thirteen British officers were killed, and above one hundred wounded, the losses in the ranks being great in proportion. The victory, however, although so dearly purchased, was decisive. The Sik army was almost totally destroyed, every gun captured, and scarcely a vestige left of that formidable power which, but for the ability of our commanders, and the bravery of our soldiers, might, at least, have shaken the power of the British government in India, and have occasioned far greater calamities than those which attended this brief and most successful warfare.

Immediately after the battle of Sobraon, the victorious generals encamped at Kussoor, about sixteen miles from the bank of the river, and thirty-two from the capital.

In the mean time, the utmost confusion prevailed at the court of Lahore, where a very remarkable person was acting in the capacity of prime minister. This was the Rajah Gholab Singh, the uncle of Heera, and brother of Dhyan Singh. He was a powerful chief, with plenty of men and money at his command; but since the death of his brother Dhyan, he had resided at his fortress of Jamoo, among the mountains, watching the course of public events. On the breaking out of the war, he brought his army, with abundance of stores and money, to the capital, but avoided taking any decided part in the contest.

After the battle of Aliwal, the Ranee, though his personal enemy, was induced to appoint him prime minister, in the hope of obtaining his assistance, which he did not refuse, but still delayed his departure for the camp under various pretences, and was yet at Lahore when the news of the total defeat of the army at Sobraon changed the whole face of affairs.

The Ranee and her party were now anxious to make peace on the best terms they could, and Gholab Singh was commissioned to proceed at once to the British camp, for that purpose. The Rajah wisely insisted that they should first sign an agreement to abide by such terms as he should make, and thus invested with full power to negociate, he arrived at Kussoor on the 15th of February, accompanied by several of the most influential of the Sirdars.

The Governor-General received him without the usual ceremonies; and after alluding to the unjustifiable conduct of the Sik government in beginning a war without the slightest pretext, he referred the minister to his agent and secretary, who were in possession of the terms on which he would pardon the late aggression, and renew the friendly alliance between the Sik and British governments.

These conditions were, the cession of the whole territory between the Sutlej and Beas rivers; the payment of a million and a half sterling, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the surrender of all the rest of the cannon that had been pointed against the British; and the total disbanding of the army, to be newly constituted upon principles approved by the British government.

The Rajah signed the treaty, and the Governor-General issued a proclamation to the effect that, as he had been forced into this war by an unprovoked attack on the part of the Siks, he felt it necessary to adopt such measures as should secure the British dominions from such aggressions in future; and that, as it was not the wish of the British government to take advantage of the success of its arms to enlarge its territories, he should endeavour to re-establish the Sik government in the Punjab, on such a footing as should enable it to exercise authority over its soldiers, and protect its subjects.

It was then stipulated that the Maharaja and principal chiefs should repair to the British camp, to tender their submission. The summons was promptly obeyed, and the young Prince, mounted on an elephant, and attended by Gholab Singh, and about twelve of the Sirdars, had an interview with the Governor-General, when his submission was tendered by the minister, and it was then declared that he would, in future, be treated as a friend and ally.

These arrangements being all completed, Dhulleep Singh, who was only ten years of age, was conducted back in state to his palace, in the citadel of Lahore, by a large escort of European and native troops, who formed, altogether, a grand and imposing spectacle; the youthful sovereign, surrounded by his chiefs, in all the pomp of barbaric splendour, riding amid the victorious troops, who might be regarded both as his conquerors and protectors.

The treaty of peace had, however, still to be ratified; and

as the Lahore government was not able to pay the sum that had been stated, it became necessary to alter the conditions. It was, therefore, settled that half a million, in money, should be paid, instead of one million and a half; and that as an equivalent for the deficient million, all the country should be ceded that lies between the Beas and the Indus, including the beautiful vale of Cashmere. The greater part of this territory was bestowed in full sovereignty on Gholab Singh, in consideration of the neutrality he preserved during the war; and who, in return for so valuable an acquisition of territory, was to pay seventy-five lacs of rupees, equal to three quarters of a million sterling.

A treaty containing sixteen articles was drawn up and signed at Lahore, on the 10th of March, 1846, by the representatives of the late contending powers, and was afterwards confirmed by the seals of the Governor-General and the Maharajah. A separate treaty was then concluded with Gholab Singh, who thus became a sovereign prince under the supremacy of the British government, which he was to acknowledge by an annual present or tribute of a horse, twelve shawl goats, and three pairs of Cashmere shawls; besides which, like the crown vassals of the feudal times, he was bound to assist the superior power, with all his military force, in any wars in the states adjoining his territories.

The Queen mother remained at the head of the government, and a body of British troops was stationed at Lahore, for the protection of the Maharajah, who, when these arrangements were finally completed, received a visit of congratulation from the Governor-General, who was accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, with the rest of the most distinguished British officers.

Thus terminated, for the time, the war in the Punjab.

To the Governor-General of India Sir Henry Hardinge, the Queen granted the dignity of Viscount; and to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, that of Baron. Sir Harry Smith received a Baronetcy, as a reward for his services at Aliwal.

Had Lord Hardinge been so disposed, he might have retained Lahore, and have gained an easy possession of all the dominions which had been acquired by Runjeet Sing. In short, he might have done in 1846 that which was done three years

later. But his lordship, like many other eminent men of great experience in Indian affairs, was decidedly of opinion that our Eastern empire would in no means be strengthened by the annexation of the whole of the Punjab. We declare, with all humility, that we still entertain the same conviction as Lord Hardinge. Stratagetically considered, the Punjab was better in other hands than in our own; and we believe that most military men, with the exception of those who desired, and soon obtained, a new field of distinction and conquest, will agree that we ought never to have carried our frontier beyond the left bank of the Indus. Considered from other points of view, the great annexation of territory does not look very advantageous. There are fertile tracts in it, but the Punjab cannot be considered—as at first it was the fashion to term it—an extremely fertile country; anticipations were entertained of an enormous revenue, but these have not been realised, and the disease and mortality of our troops of occupation give a sad contradiction to the hasty assertion that the climate was healthy.

Lord Hardinge, like many preceding Governors-General, had arrived in India with the hope of maintaining a peaceful rule and administration. The first Sik war was forced upon him by the passions and wants of an unruly, savage army, who had never been under control since the death of Runjeet Sing, and by the actual invasion of our own territories by that anarchic force. His lordship faced them, beat them back, and established a better frontier than the one we had previously possessed; and there, like a moderate and wise soldier and statesman, he halted, and said "enough." Honoured by all parties (for there was that in his lordship's character and demeanour which silenced even the loud, rash, and unscrupulous voice of India faction) Lord Hardinge returned to England at the close of 1846.

THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

THIS nobleman proceeded to India as Governor-General with an almost universal concurrence of good opinions in his favour. He was known to stand high in the estimation of the

always wise and discriminating Duke of Wellington; in a less limited sphere of action he had given proof of forethought, prudence, dispassionateness and ability, and, besides the immortal Duke, very many eminent men entertained the conviction that he would be a most just, a wise, and a pacific Governor-General. The inclination to the pacific, non-aggrandising line of policy was not wanting. Like Lord Hardinge, the Marquis of Dalhousie would have worn "Peace" as his badge and motto; but, like Lord Hardinge and so many more of his predecessors, the new Governor-General very soon found himself under the necessity of girding on the sword of war.

The commencement of his lordship's administration was, however, illustrated by acts of humanity and christian philanthropy, and especially by the final blow given to the idolatrous atrocities and horrors which had so long prevailed in the country of the Khonds. Owing to misapprehensions on one part, and, (we fear, malicious or interested) misrepresentations on another, and, no doubt in some measure, owing to a great press of business, both warlike and political, the subject of Khond reformation had been much neglected, though not entirely overlooked, and a disposition had been evinced, in several powerful or influential quarters, to disparage the services of an excellent Scotch officer, who had passed years in the Khond country, and had sacrificed his health in efforts to do good. A misdirected sectarian zeal rose in hostility to this enlightened and humane Scotchman, and as soon as Lord Dalhousie arrived in India, efforts were made to mislead his judgment, and give him very false impressions of what had been done and of what remained to do. But the new Governor-General carefully examined the whole subject, sifted the evidence already collected, and invited and paid every attention to fresh evidence. From this time the maw of Moloch was denied its horrible repasts.

In the previous chapter it has been mentioned that the Hindūs, in their progress down the eastern side of the Peninsula, expelled the natives from the country lying between the eastern chain of Ghauts and the sea, except in some few places, where they were permitted to retain possession of a few groups of barren hills, marshy deltas, and unhealthy tracts. Between this maritime district, which extends from the Ganges to the

Godavery, averaging seventy miles in width, and the higher elevations of the Ghauts, is a subalpine region, consisting of hilly wastes, entangled forests, deep-worn channels of mountain torrents, interspersed however with fertile valleys and a few productive plains. From this less accessible ground the conquered races were not so completely expelled as from the plain, but continued to live on in two distinct states of dependence. Those who inhabited the most rugged spurs of the Ghauts became free vassals of the Zemindars, or feudal Barons of the State of Orissa, and in course of ages have become assimilated to, and in a great measure absorbed by the Hindū population, forming new castes by the intermixture; whereas those who dwelt on the more fertile slopes were reduced to a semi-servile condition, and were compelled to furnish labour without wages to the Zemindars, their officers, and the neighbouring Hindū temples.

Above these two regions, in the fastnesses of the range of Ghauts, and beyond the influence of the Zemindars of Orissa, the Koles, Khonds, and Sourahs maintained their independence against or yielded a precarious submission to, the Hindū, Mahometan, Rajpoot, and Mahratta powers, and retained their distinctive language, institutions, and religion.

Enclosed in their mountain strongholds the Khonds were until lately unknown to our countrymen except by the vaguest reports. Mr. Sterling, in a work on Orissa, A.D. 1825, dismisses the whole race with a few lines of notice, to the effect that the Khonds are found in great numbers south of the river Mahanuddy.

Ten years later, military operations were undertaken in Gomsoor, on the Chilka lake, in consequence of the conduct of a Zemindar Rajah, who had allowed his tribute to our Government to fall so far in arrear, that the military occupation of his territory was threatened. The troops sent into the country met with a determined resistance in the jungle and broken ground. The following year a second expedition was sent, and for the first time British troops ascended the range of Ghauts, and fell in with the aborigines of the hills, who unknown to us had made common cause with the insurgent Rajah. Assurances were given to these people that the only object of the invasion was to reduce the revolted Zemindar to submission, and that to themselves no harm was intended.

At first these assurances were believed: a friendly intercourse and traffic sprung up between the Khonds and the camp. Presents were exchanged between the Commissioners and the Khonds, and other people of the mountain tribes. Unhappily, however, the fugitive insurgents succeeded in propagating a report that the British government aimed at the overthrow of their independence, which disturbed the good feeling that existed, and the breach was widened by some unjustifiable acts of marauders from our camp, the result of which was a renewal of hostilities. The aborigines retreated before our troops, carrying with them their cattle and other effects, and those who remained as guides led our men into ambushes: in consequence of these and other annoyances, severities were used, and the second campaign ended in the entire reduction of the insurgents; and though the circumstances which led to this establishment of our power are to be regretted, yet the result has tended very greatly to benefit the people.

Shortly after this a survey of the country was undertaken, and among the persons so engaged was Captain (now Major) J. Charters M'Pherson, who directed his attention to inquiries into the language, manners, institutions, and religion of the Khonds, with whom he was brought in contact. After the survey was completed, and the report which he had made had attracted some attention, in consequence of the astonishing statement that human sacrifice and female infanticide were habitually practised in a region surrounded by more civilized inhabitants, in the very heart of the Presidency, Captain M'Pherson was again sent to the Khond district on a special mission to endeavour to put a stop to these horrible practices. On this he was engaged for several years, and at length succeeded in his humane object: for which he has at length been deservedly rewarded by the present Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, after a long and unequal contest with the Council, who depreciated the services he had rendered. From the accounts which Captain M'Pherson gives of this singular people it appears that the religion of the Khonds is a distinct theism with a subordinate demonology. They believe in the unity of the Godhead, whom they call Boora Pennu, the source of good: and the creator of the universe. He created first a consort for himself, Tari Pennu, the earth goddess, and afterward made the lower earth, on which he dwelt with his wife

Tari, till she, by want of conjugal affection for her spouse, alienated his affections, upon which he resolved to create a new race of beings, who should render a more implicit obedience to his will.

The process of creation is thus described in a native legend translated from the Khond language by Captain M'Pherson:—"Boora Pennu took a handful of earth and threw it behind him to create man, but Tari, being jealous, caught it ere it fell and cast it on one side, when trees, herbs, flowers, and every form of vegetable life sprung up. Boora Pennu again threw a handful of earth behind him; but Tari caught it in like manner and cast it into the sea, when fish and all things that live in water were generated. Boora threw a third handful of earth behind him, which Tari also intercepted and flung aside, when all the lower animals, wild and tame, were formed. Boora cast a fourth handful behind him, which Tari caught and threw it up into the air, when feathered tribes and all creatures which fly were produced. Boora Pennu, looking round, perceived what Tari had done to frustrate his intentions, and, laying his hand upon her head to prevent her further interference, he took a fifth handful of earth and placed it on the ground behind him; and from it the human race were created. Tari Pennu then placed her hands over the earth and said, 'Let these beings you have made exist; you shall create no more!' Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to proceed from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw it around saying, 'To all that I have created!'—and thence arose love and sex and the continuation of species."*

Man thus created was sinless and without disease, holding free intercourse with his Maker; enjoying without toil the produce of the soil, he went about unclothed and unharmed by the lower creation. But this state of happiness did not long exist,—temptation came, and then man fell. The tempter was Tari, who "sowed the seeds of sin in mankind as into a ploughed field:" a few only remained sinless, and for their constancy were translated to heaven by Boora, and made partakers of his divinity.

The rest of mankind was made subject to death, the ground was cursed, animals became destructive, flowers and fruits

* 'An Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa.' By Capt. J. Charters M'Pherson, Madras Army. London, 1852.

poisonous, and the never-ending contest between good and evil began.

In this account of the creation and fall of man all the Khonds agree, but from this point they are divided into two sects, the worshippers of Boora and the devotees of Tari. The subject in dispute is the result of the conflict for the mastery waged by Tari on Boora, with the Titanic weapons, mountains, meteors and whirlwinds.

The sect of Boora maintain that the balance of power was completely overthrown, and that though retaining her power for evil and her hostility towards man, the goddess is only able to exert that power in furtherance of Boora's wishes and as an instrument of his moral rule; while the sect of Tari contend that the goddess still remains unsubdued—that the power of Boora is insufficient to control her, that she has the power of bestowing every earthly blessing as well as of inflicting every woe.

Boora, his votaries believe, desirous that man should still be able to attain to a moderate degree of happiness, created three subordinate classes of divinities, whose office should be to watch over the affairs of men: the highest class sprang from Boora and Tari, and six of these presided respectively over Rain, Vegetation, Increase, the Chase, War, and Boundaries, while the seventh had allotted to him the duty of seeing justice done to the dead.

The second rank is composed of the sinless mortals of the Golden age; and the third, the progeny of the two higher classes of deities, corresponds to the Lares, Fauns, and Dryads of the classic mythology. Such is the Pantheon of the Khonds.

Dinga Pennu, the God of the Dead, resides on a great mountain, called the Leaping Rock, beyond the seas: thither the souls of the departed are driven, and are compelled to leap a dark, unfathomable Styx which surrounds it, and alight upon a smooth rock, slippery, "like a floor covered with mustard seed;" in taking this perilous leap they sustain injuries and contract deformities, which they communicate to the body into which they next transmigrate. "Upon this rock sits Dinga, engaged day and night in writing on it a history of every man's actions towards God, and towards men, during every life passed upon earth: casting up each man's account of good

and evil, passing sentence according to desert, and dispatching the shades by troops to fulfil his perfectly just and inflexible award."*

The souls of those who on earth have led virtuous lives are permitted to pass into Elysium, while the souls of the wicked are remanded back to earth to suffer, in a new life, penalties proportioned to their guilt. The deeds which are reckoned as meritorious and entitle the soul to enter Elysium are, the killing a foe or dying in battle, being a priest, or a victim to the Earth Goddess. Those acts which entail a transmigration are, violations of the law of hospitality, broken oaths, lies, except to save a guest, incest, contraction of debt, (by which a whole tribe may be ruined, since it is responsible for the payment of the debts of its individual members) skulking in time of war and betrayal of state secrets.

The sect of Tari attribute to her precisely the same compassionate desire to raise man from his state of degradation, that his worshippers assign to Boora. They believe that Tari, under a feminine form, taught men the peaceful occupation of agriculture and the chase, and initiated them in the art of war, giving directly those benefits which Boora gave through the medium of intervening classes of deities.

In the worship of the Goddess, human sacrifices are periodically offered. The legend, which accounts for the institution of these horrible rites, is as follows:—Tari Pennu, in cutting vegetables with a sickle, cut her finger, and the drops of blood falling on the ground caused the earth to become dry and firm. She then bid the Khonds cut her to pieces, that further good might result from the bloodshed. This they declined to do, on the ground that it would lead to the extinction of their race, for the goddess had assumed the form of a female of their tribe; but they resolved, since such wonderful effects followed the shedding of blood, to buy victims from other people.

They at once procured and offered up a sacrifice; and, says the legend, "now society, with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the ties between ruler and subject, arose," and the knowledge of all that relates to the tilling of the ground was imparted to men.

"Then also," says the legend, "hunting began. A man

* Captain M'Pherson's 'Religion of the Khonds.'

brought to a priest a rat, a snake and a lizard, and he inquired if they were fit to eat. Tari descended on the priest and said in his ear, 'give names to all the wild animals, distinguishing those that are fit and those that are unfit for food, and let men go to the jungles and the hills, and kill the wild deer and all other game with arrows and with poison.'" The priest did as he was instructed, and the men went forth to hunt. In like manner, a legend narrates how she taught men the art of fighting. "Boora Pennu, in the beginning, created the world and all that it contains, including the iron of weapons, but men did not know the use of weapons, fighting in womanish fashion, and wounding one another with sword-grass and spear-grass, unable to inflict death." It then tells how Tari taught men to make bows and arrows and axes; and how, so cruel was the iron, when the terrible goddess first taught the use of it, that none who were wounded lived; but afterwards Tari, on the prayer of her children, instructed them how to moderate the "cruelty of the first iron," and how to make war without always dealing death.

Thus, say the sect of Tari, did men rise from their state of degradation, and obtain all the benefits they enjoy, through worshipping Tari with human sacrifices, upon her demonstrating the efficacy of the pouring out of human blood upon the earth. And they are taught to believe that the rite and its virtue were subsequently enlarged by a new revelation and decree. People complained to Tari that the benefits she bestowed on them were insuffícent, that there was in the world "little wealth, much fear, but few children, deadly snakes and tigers, and thorns piercing the feet;" whereupon, she prescribed the extension of her bloody ritual, with new ceremonies and new arrangements for the provision of victims, and ordained that its efficacy, previously limited only to those who practised it, should, from that time forward, embrace all mankind. And from that period the sectarians of Tari believe that the responsibility for the well-being of the whole world has rested upon them.

The regular sacrifices are generally offered about the time the crops are laid in the ground, so that each house or family may be able to bury a small fragment of flesh in their fields, and thus effectually avert the malignity of the Goddess. And besides these periodical sacrifices, special sacrifices are offered

on occasions whenever the goddess is supposed to have given evidence of her wrath, such as the ravages of a tiger, murrain among the cattle, or threatened dearth.

There is no restriction as to the class from which the meriah, or victim, may be taken : the only limitation is that they must be acquired by purchase, or be the property of those who offer them. Thus a father may devote his own children to be victims, or sell them for that purpose. Meriahs are usually supplied to the Khonds by two other smaller aboriginal tribes, either from their own families, in exchange for brazen vessels, sheep, silken and woollen cloths, and axes, or else they purchase or kidnap children from the Hindūs of the plain : but when hard pressed by famine the Khonds will sell their own children, regarding death by sacrifice as an honourable distinction and a sure passport to heaven. The meriah is treated by all the tribe with reverence as a consecrated being ; if he grow up, a wife, often also a meriah, is given to him, and they are furnished by the tribe with a farm and stock. Their children are deemed to be born in the condition of their parents. It is not thought under these circumstances that the devoted victim is likely to attempt to escape; but, what with the pleasant nature of their circumstances, what with the flattering hope that their turn for sacrifice may never arrive, what with the great risk of re-capture, since meriahs alone form an exception to their stringent laws of hospitality, and with the certainty that if re-captured they would be kept in fetters until they were required for death, this seldom happens ; and the disposition not to attempt it is strengthened by the belief, carefully impressed upon them, that if they should succeed in escaping their impending fate, the goddess would revenge herself and cause them to perish miserably by disease, while by undergoing it they will attain immediate beatification.

Captain M'Pherson relates an incident of this kind told to him by one of the Khond tribes ; the victim appeared so willing to submit to his fate, and even to glory in the prospect which it would open to him, that suspicion was disarmed, and his request, that he might join in the dance in the garb and with the arms of a warrior for the last time, was immediately granted. "He received the weapons, and when the chief was busied with the priest in preparing for the last rite, the youth approached him in the dance and clove his skull. He then

dashed across the Salki, a deep and foaming torrent, and fled down the Ghaut. A furious crowd of worshippers followed and demanded his surrender, but the family with whom he had taken refuge contrived to parley with them until they could collect a small party of followers who secretly bore away the fugitive, whose descendants still live." Such attempts are however very rare, and their success still more so.

When a sacrifice is to be offered, the victim to be immolated is devoted ten or twelve days before, by cutting off his hair. A general feast is made, which is attended by a vast concourse of both sexes, and continues for three days, which are spent in drunkenness, a vice prevailing among all the tribes of Khonds. On the second day immediately preceding the sacrifice, the victim is arrayed in a new garment and led out of the village with music and dancing to the Meriah Grove, which is left to its native luxuriance, untouched by the axe, and regarded by the khonds as haunted ground. The sacrificing priest, or great Janni, who alone can officiate at these rites, is required to give up the world after a somewhat striking fashion: the necessary qualifications are thus described by Captain M'Pherson. "He can possess no property of any kind, nor marry, nor according to his rules even look upon a woman; and he must generally appear and act as unlike other men as possible. He must live in a filthy hut, a wonder of abomination. He must not wash but with spittle; nor leave his door save when sent for: except perhaps when he wanders to draw liquor from some neglected palm tree in his neighbourhood, at the foot of which he may be found if required, lying half drunk. He scarcely ever wears a decent cloth or blanket. He commonly carries in his hand a broken axe or bow, and has an excited, sottish, sleepy look; but his ready wit never fails him in his office. He eats such choice morsels as a piece of grilled skin, and the feet of the sacrificed buffaloes, and the heads of sacrificed fowls; and when a deer is cut up, he gets for his share, perhaps, half of the skin of the head with an ear on, and some of the hairy skimmings of the pot."

The Janni next anoints the victim, to whom great reverence is shown during the whole of the day; the next morning he is refreshed with milk and palm sago, while the licentious orgies which have been continued throughout the night are still carried on about him. At noon these come to an end, the

victim is loosed from the stake, for he must not suffer bound, and, to prevent escape, stupified with opium. Then there commences a remarkable liturgic dialogue in which the victim's part, and sometimes that of the other celebrants, is sustained by those who are capable of giving most effect to the semi-dramatic ritual.

The priest having called upon all the gods by name, invokes the Earth Goddess in a strain of rude poetry and savage hyperbole, beseeching her to forgive them the lack of service to her, and to bless with increase all animal and vegetable life: this is followed by reciting the legend as to the origin of human sacrifice and commemorating the benefits which have resulted from its observance. The victim intreats that another should be substituted for him, some useless child, some skulking coward; such victims he is told would not please the goddess, and that the blame of his untimely fate lies with his parents who sold him. "Did I share the price," replies the victim, "did the love and respect you have all hitherto shewed me prepare me to expect such an end?" The prospect of immortality is next held out to reconcile the victim, and the immense boon which by his death he will confer on mankind: the dialogue is thus protracted till entreaty gives way to imprecations, and cursing the Janni for his part in the sacrifice, the meriah threatens to use his power, when he shall have become a god, to punish the Janni, and ceasing to struggle for life, bids him "now do your will on me."

This dialogue ended, the victim is removed to a spot chosen the night before as that most acceptable to the goddess, where the priest and elders of the village, having previously cleft an arm of a green tree, place the meriah's neck within the rift, and secure the divided ends with cords. The priest then strikes the first blow at the victim, after which the crowd rushes upon the sacrifice and strips all the flesh from the bones. The following day the remains of the meriah are burnt and the ashes strewed over the fields.

In the mean while the persons who were sent by the other villages belonging to the tribe hasten home with their portion of flesh and deliver it to the priest, who buries one half of it, after offering prayers to the Earth Goddess, while the other is divided into as many portions as there are families in the village, each of whom receives a slice of flesh, which they pro-

ceed to bury in their favourite field. The rites are concluded by a common feast, at which a buffalo is slain and eaten, the offal being left as an offering to the spirit of the meriah.

In one district the horrors of these sacrifices are heightened by roasting the victim over a slow fire, after which, on the next day, the body is cut to pieces and the flesh similarly distributed.

"The gods of the Khonds," says Captain M'Pherson, "have bodies of human form but of ethereal texture. In size, they are generally superhuman, and the higher gods are larger in stature than the inferior gods. They are of various colours, and variously attired and equipped, after the fashion of men. They can assume any form at pleasure. With the exception of the three greatest, they live exclusively upon the earth, moving at the height of about two cubits above its surface, invisible to human eyes, but seen by the lower animals. They all have human feelings, passions, and affections; quarrel, and are reconciled; fall in love, marry, and have children; while the minor gods, at least, grow old, and are subject to sickness, and even to a species of dissolution, which a god of superior strength can inflict, and which differs from the death of men in this, that a god on dying is instantly re-born as a child, without loss of consciousness or recollection. The gods live upon flavours and essences drawn from the offering of their votaries, from the flesh of animals which they kill, generally by disease, for their own food, and from corn, the abstraction of which is notified by empty ears in the field or by deficiency in the garner."

All the gods worship Tari and Boora; and those of each grade worship those above them, pray to them, and offer them up the lives of victims. They take from poor mortal men the materials for such offerings, consulting, not the proprietors, but the priests. When a favourite bullock or fatted pig disappears or is found dead, these priests tell the owner that some god required it for a sacrifice. With such unavailable resource the Khond clergy cannot often want beef or pork. The priesthood may be assumed by any one who chooses to assert a call to the ministry of any god, such call needing to be authenticated only by the claimant's remaining for a period, varying from one night to ten or fourteen days, in a languid, dreamy, confused

state, the consequence of the absence of part of his soul in the divine presence. And the ministry which may be thus easily assumed, may, with few exceptions, be laid aside at pleasure.

A couple of legends, selected from the endless number current in the country, will give some idea of the mode of life of the gods.

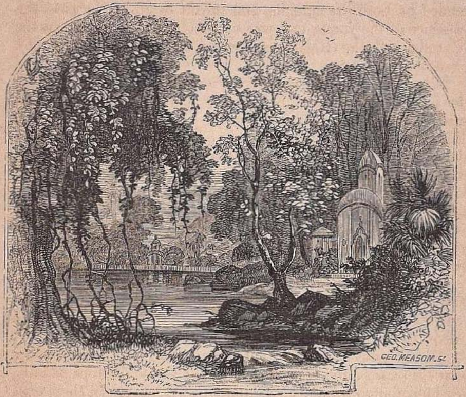
"A lofty hill, called Bogah-Soro, is a kind of local Olympus on which the gods of a large district hold their councils. The chief God of the Hill had, long ago, a son of strange habits and wayward and sullen mood, who lived entirely apart from his family, and cared for nothing but to pet animals—a horse and an elephant, upon which he lavished his affections—never quitting them day or night. The God of the Hill was in despair at the fancies of his son. He one day managed to persuade him to leave his favourite creatures, in order to carry an invitation to a sister married to a neighbouring god some forty miles off, and, during his absence, he transformed the horse and the elephant into two rocks, which are still to be seen on the broad flank of Bogah-Soro. The youth, on returning home, hastened straight to his beloved animals, and when he discovered the metamorphosis fell into a paroxysm of grief and rage. When, on demanding who had played him the trick, he learned that it was his father, he rushed into his presence frantic with sorrow and indignation, solemnly renounced his family, and prepared to depart for ever. His father, at length, with infinite difficulty, contrived to pacify him by the solemn promise that he would give him the first horse and elephant that passed that way. The young god, accordingly, went to the road which winds by the mountains to watch for travellers; and there he has been ever since, sitting, sometimes on a clump of bamboos, the top of which is seen flattened and depressed by his weight, sometimes upon the branch of an old Uddah tree, which is bent like a chair, in the hope of seeing on that road travellers attended by the desired animals. He has, moreover, created around the spot he haunts a most inviting shade, and has converted a clump of common wild mango trees into trees bearing fruit of delicious flavour; while upon that road travellers are always safe, both from robbers and wild beasts. A horse and an elephant, however, have never yet appeared in that wild mountain pass. But when the Rajah of Purlah Kimedy, some years ago, was flying through the hills in rebellion, at-

tended by both the animals, and meant to go by the pass, the presence of the young god was opportunely remembered by the Khonds, and the Rajah was preserved from destruction by changing his route.

"By the side of the road from Souradah to Guddapore, under a shady mango tree, is a bright sparkling fountain which gushes from a basin of golden sand. It is called the 'Brazen Fountain,' and this is the accepted story of its origin and name.—The daughter of a god of an overhanging hill, one day, when carrying home a brass pitcher of water from a rivulet which runs in the dell close by, chanced to meet the young son of a god of the neighbourhood. A few words of courtesy were first exchanged, and then conversation sprang up between them; when the goddess relieved herself of the weight of her pitcher, by setting it down at the foot of the tree. The conversation passed insensibly into love making, which ended in the old lyrical way, amid the flowered jungle. There the divine pair have ever since dwelt. The brass vessel of water was naturally forgotten, and became the Brazen Fountain." *

The Khonds use neither temples nor images in their worship. Groves kept sacred from the axe, hoar rocks, the tops of hills, gushing fountains, and the banks of streams, are in their eyes the fittest places for devotion. They, however, at one or two places where they are much mixed up with Hindūs, preserve with reverence, in a house set apart for the purpose, pieces of stone or iron, symbolical of some of their gods. At the first glance no one would imagine that these people had ever been addicted to such atrocious practices, or that their creed was a creed of blood. Among them, one of the chief offices of a priest is to discover the cause of sickness, which is held to arise either from the especial displeasure of some god, or from the magical arts of an enemy. To ascertain which god is displeased, the priest seats himself by the afflicted person, and, taking some rice, divides it into small heaps, each of which he dedicates to some divinity. He then hangs up a sickle balanced by a silk thread, places a few grains of rice upon each end of it, and calls upon all the gods by name. If the sickle is slightly agitated as a name is pronounced, that is an indication that a god has come and rested upon the rice. The priest, having declared the name of the god, lays down the sickle and

* Captain J. Charters M'Pherson.



Sacred Groves of the Khonds.

counts the grains in the heap: if the number be odd the deity is offended; if it be even he is pleased. In the first case, the priest becomes full of the god, loosens his long hair, shakes his head wildly, and pours forth a torrent of incoherent words. The patient humbly inquires the cause of the god's displeasure —learns which of his laws has been broken or which of his rites neglected, and instantly makes the offerings prescribed: well if this offering be not a human one! If it be a bullock, a pig or a sheep, the ceremony usually terminates in a feast, to which the neighbours are invited and over which the priest presides.

The sect of Boora in their religious rites offer a contrast to the horrors perpetrated by the sect of Tari. Their chief ceremony is at a yearly festival held about the time of the rice harvest, and lasting five days: during this time they drink immoderately of a fermented liquor made from rice; wild dances are kept up day and night, and every kind of

licentious enjoyment is indulged in. A hog is sacrificed to Boora, and the legend of the creation and fall of man recited in a kind of monotone by the priest, after which every individual prays to Boora for the good he especially desires.

Another festival is held to commemorate the rescue of a man by Boora, through the instrumentality of one of the minor deities, from being sacrificed to the Earth Goddess; at the ceremonial a buffalo is slain, after which the priest recites the legend.

The sect of Boora regard that land as polluted in which human blood is shed; when passing through it they will not obtain fire from such blood-stained hearths, but procure it pure by friction; nor will they sleep under a roof of a man-slaying tribe until they have taken straws from the thatch and burned them, to signify their conquest over it and its inhabitants.

The subordinate deities of the Khond demonology are worshipped by both of the rival sects, with some few differences of ritual and ceremonial, arising from their distinctive tenets.

In the practice of female infanticide they also agree, though they assign different causes for the same observance: the worshippers of Boora Pennu allege his permissive sanction for this custom, given on the last occasion on which he held communication with mankind, when he said to men, "Behold! from making one female, what have I and the world suffered: you are at liberty to bring up only as many women as you can manage!"

With the worshippers of the Earth Goddess, the practice is more systematic, and no female infant is spared, save a woman's first child, if a female. This has arisen from the conditions of marriage among these tribes, with whom the women hold a conspicuous place. They are the peace-makers between hostile tribes, or between the Khonds and the Zemindar Rajahs, and are allowed to take part in the councils of their tribe, who attach great weight to their opinions. This ascendancy is completed by their extraordinary matrimonial privileges. A marriage between a Khond and a woman of his own tribe is deemed incestuous; consequently he is obliged to seek a wife from a neighbouring people, paying to the father of his intended bride a large consideration; being assisted in raising the required amount by the contributions

of his own tribe. After marriage the wife may at any time abandon her husband, except in the first year after marriage, or within a year after giving birth to a child, and return to her father or contract a new marriage. This power of abandonment gives the husband a right to recover the money paid to her father for his bride, and the honour of the tribe is concerned in the enforcement of this reclamation, a practice which has given rise to most of the sanguinary feuds existing between the branches of the Khond people. Hence daughters are considered a curse to their tribe, and to any man but a rich and powerful chief, able to make large and sudden restitutions consequent on the fickleness of the daughters when married; so that the Khonds argue, "by the death of our female infants before they see the light the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace."*

The practice of female infanticide is believed to be not wholly unknown amongst any portion of the Khond people, while it exists in some of the tribes to such an extent, that scarcely a female infant is spared. The exclusion of female spirits from a tribe is held to be of high importance upon this ground: they believe that, of the quantity of soul allotted to each generation, the less that is assigned to the women the more will remain for the men, whose mental powers will be proportionately improved. And the first prayer of every Khond being for many and highly endowed male children, the belief that the mental qualities of these may be raised by the destruction of the female infants is no slight incentive to the practice, superadded to the motives afforded by the belief that the number of male children may be increased by sacrificing the female children.

* The introduction of an account of the aboriginal races and their religion at this advanced stage of an account of India, though an anachronism in point of arrangement, is in strict accordance with the date of our acquaintance with them: till of late years, even European residents in India knew little more than the existence of a strange people inhabiting the hill and jungle districts: in England this fact had engaged little attention even from those who were best acquainted with Oriental ethnography. As an example of the complete ignorance which existed it may be mentioned that in the best maps published only a few years since, the vast district west of Orissa, now known to be inhabited by the Khonds and kindred tribes, is a blank, across which "unexplored country" is written.

A legend relates a religious war undertaken by the sect of Boora against that of Tari.

Long ago, the followers of Boora resolved, for his honour, to make war upon the tribes which worshipped Tari with human sacrifices. The followers of Boora chose for their enterprise the month of the year in which human victims are chiefly offered, and their army moved into the country of the people of Tari. Difficulties, however, arose in another quarter which obliged the army to retire; but they left behind them a small party under two great leaders. The tribes which offer human sacrifices then took council together, and determined that it was absolutely necessary to destroy that detachment with its leaders; for, said they, "If they be permitted to remain, before the return of the invading army they will have learned all our secret plans, and become perfectly acquainted with our country." The people of the Earth Goddess accordingly assembled a vast host, every man of which carried a load of ashes, and they appeared like a swarm of bees upon the hills above the small party of the people of the God of Light. The two leaders of that party then said to their men, "We two are here for the glory of the God of Light, and by the order of the tribes who are parties to this enterprise, and we must stand, whether we live or die. But no such obligation lies upon you. You are at perfect liberty to save your lives." Of their men, a few then returned home and a part retired to some distance, while the rest declared that they would die with the two chiefs. The chiefs then prayed, "Oh, God of Light! You prevailed in the contest with the Earth Goddess. We are come here to re-establish your power, and if we shall perish your authority will be diminished, your supremacy forgotten. Oh, give us arms!" As they prayed, a great wind rushed from a cavern in the side of the hill called Oldura, and scattered to the four quarters of the earth the loads of ashes which the host of the Earth Goddess had brought to overwhelm their little band. In evidence of these events the wind roars from that cavern to this day; while the two brave chiefs, and the few brave men who stood by them, obtained possession of Deegee, and that rich tract is now divided amongst five or six tribes, their descendants.

The war had not a very epic termination. "With respect to the projected invasion," says the legend, "it was determined

by the people of the God of Light, after mature deliberation, to forego it. It was considered that no good could possibly arise from attacking the people of the Earth Goddess, for they are like the red ants; however much you may cherish them they will continue to sting you, while, if you kill them, what is gained?"

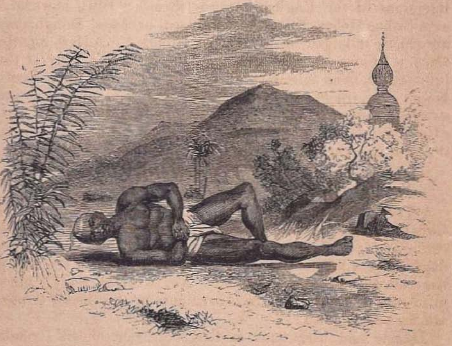
Yet these followers of Boora, though they detest sacrificing men to offer them up to the Gods, destroy their female offspring not only without remorse, but with a joyous consciousness that they are doing their duty to their family, their tribe, and mankind at large.

In closely following Captain M'Pherson's account, which was published two years and written four years ago, we have made use of the present tense; but we might now say that this grim superstition of the Khonds is a thing that has been, or, at least, that an almost total stop has been put to its atrocities and horrors. It is confidently affirmed, and believed, that not a single infant is now sacrificed. This most desirable result has been obtained by gentle means; by argument, persuasion, and representations of the utter loathing with which the British Government regarded such sacrifices. Any hasty employment of force would have added massacre to murders, and, unless we had proceeded to the frightful extremity of exterminating the Khonds, would have failed in its object.

Even at this day few Englishmen seem to be fully aware of the numerous and monstrous abominations which existed in India, which were connived at, or even promoted and patronised by the native rulers, and which, one by one, have been suppressed or checked by British rule.

The illustrious Warren Hastings put down the frightful human sacrifices which were annually perpetrated near the mouth of the Ganges on Saugor Island—that home of tigers, serpents, and fevers, as Bishop Heber calls it. Under successive governors-general, the mingled abominations and atrocities of widow-burning, and of throwing away life under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut have been gradually curtailed and finally abolished. While we write, we see that the chief car of the foul idol has been destroyed by a spontaneous movement of the people. Those revolting exhibitions of self-inflicted torture, once so common, are now discountenanced and rarely seen. Devotees, stripped to the skin, are no longer seen rolling on the earth from Trichinopoly to the famous

hill-temple of Pylnee, a distance of more than one hundred miles; the Pandarom fanatic, wearing an iron grate closely riveted on the neck, is no more encountered; the revolting figures of female devotees, covered with self-inflicted wounds, no longer line the highways, and the Senassees and other fanatical fakirs and vagabonds who were wont to scour the country in vast bodies, and to add to robbery and murder nearly every other imaginable crime, are now to be found only in the history of the past.



Rolling Devotee.

The hill tribes, called the Bheels (indisputable portions of the aboriginal population) have long since undergone a moral transformation. A brief sketch of this change may serve as a specimen of what has been done among other tribes, and as an encouragement and lesson to such as may hereafter have to deal with predatory semi-savage populations. It is now nearly thirty years since the still-lamented Bishop Heber travelled among these people, who, in his time, had made great progress, although they had not quite got beyond the transition state. During the Mahratta and other wars, the Bheels were one

among the many scourges which laid waste the fertile plains of India, and rendered travelling a desperate adventure. Under English influence a system of police was introduced among them, and some sepoy garrisons were at hand to render aid on serious occasions. Measures of firmness and conciliation were pursued towards the Bheel chiefs, who had lands granted them, tax free, in order to bring them into regular habits. Not a few of them enrolled in local corps for the defence of the roads; and many even of the worst of the savages became sensible of their true interests and the kind intentions of the English towards them. "Still, however," says Bishop Heber, "there are occasional excesses, though they are chiefly indulged in against the Hindūs.* A few months since a bazaar was attacked and plundered by a body of the hill people, who succeeded in getting off with their booty before our troops in the neighbouring cantonments could overtake them; and there are, doubtless, many who still sigh after their late anarchy, and exclaim, amid the comforts of peaceful government,

> 'Give us our wildness and our woods,
> Our huts and caves again.'

"The son of Mr. Palmer, chaplain of Nusseerabad, while travelling lately from Mhow, observed some Bheels looking earnestly at a large drove of laden bullocks which were drinking at a ford of the Bunass. He asked one of the men if the bullocks belonged to him: 'No,' was the reply, 'but a good part of them would have been ours by this time if it were not for you English!'"

Thieves and barbarians as they were, our officers thought them on the whole a better, kindlier race than their Hindū conquerors. Their word was more to be depended on, they were of a franker and livelier character, their women were far better treated and enjoyed more influence, and, though they shed blood freely enough in their clannish feuds, or in the regular way of a foray, they were not vindictive or inhospitable under other circumstances. Even then our officers, with perfect safety, went hunting and fishing in their country, without escort or guide, except what these poor savages them-

* The invaders and conquerors of India, who deprived the ancestors of the Bheels of their rich lands, and drove the remnant of them to the hungry mountains.

selves cheerfully furnished for a little brandy. In the south of India, where the late Sir John Malcolm could carry everything in his own liberal way, he raised a corps of Bheels, which he placed under the command of their own chiefs, and subjected to just as much discipline as a wild people were at first likely to bear, and as was necessary for the nature of the service in which they were to be employed. He also secured them the peaceable possession of a certain portion of their lands which had been ravaged by those wholesale marauders the Pindarees, obtaining for them a freedom from taxes for a sufficient number of years to make it worth their while to acquire industrious habits. We have heard Sir John himself declare that in a very short time he could trust these reformed Bheels with any amount of property, and that for catching robbers or (a more valuable service!) for preventing the occurrence of robberies, there were none like them. Bishop Heber repeatedly saw corn-merchants travelling the country with an escort of Bheels, who, when trusted, were generally both brave and trustworthy. The bishop himself often employed them as guides. Near every village some hill-top serves as a look-out. Here a man is stationed to watch the road, and to communicate with the occupant of the next hill by means of a shrill shout or scream. In this way, in a very short time, an alarm can be given far and near. While travelling in Guzerat, Bishop Heber and his escort arrived, one night, heartily tired, at the small town or station of Wasnud. "The Bheels," he says, "were to be our watchmen as well as guides, and their shrill calls from one to the other were heard all night long. We were told not to be surprised at this choice, since these poor fellows are, when trusted, the trustiest of men, and of all sentries the most wakeful and indefatigable. They and the Kholees, a race almost equally wild, are uniformly preferred in Guzerat for the service of the police, and as porters to gentlemen's houses." *

It was expected by some that these poor people would relapse into their old habits; but this has been the case in no part of the country where proper attention has been paid to them by our Indian government. No doubt a renewal of the internal wars of former times might bring about a deplorable result (and this state of war is to be avoided only by

* Narrative of a journey through the Upper provinces of India, etc.

political wisdom and the employment of an adequate military force); but for many years the poor Bheels have been making a slow but gradual and sure progress in the arts and habits of civilised life. Their population is increasing; their old villages have grown in size, many new villages have sprung up, and, without resorting to forays and cattle liftings, many of them now possess numerous flocks and herds.

These detached fragments of a very ancient race retain many of their primitive customs.* They still go armed with bows, arrows, and spears, and rarely make use of any other weapons. Their bows are of split bamboos, very simply made, but strong and elastic; more so than those of buffalo-horn, which are generally used in Hindūstan. They are about four feet six inches long, and formed like those of Europe. The arrows are also of bamboo, with an iron head coarsely made, and a long single barb. They have a curious way of killing fish. When the water in the rivers subside in the dry season, the Bheels collect in great numbers: the fish are pursued in the shallow muddy water with sticks, spears, and hands in all directions; and the bowmen, with their bows and arrows, make in a few hours a terrible havoc among them, singling out the largest, and striking them with as much certainty as if they were sheep in a fold. The arrows intended for striking fish have the head so contrived as to slip off from the shaft when the fish is struck, but to remain connected with it by a long line, on the principle of the harpoon. The shaft, in consequence, remains as a float on the water, and not only contributes to weary out the fish, but shows his pursuer which way he goes, and thus enables him to seize the prey.

These Bheels are middle-sized, slender men, very dark, with frames which promise hardiness and agility rather than much muscular strength. They would probably not be darker than their neighbours if they wore as many clothes. But their toilet is very simple and scanty; they generally go bare-headed, and quite naked except a small belt of coarse cloth round their loins. They have strong local attachments, and will not

* The aboriginals were ancient when the Hindūs first came among them with sword and fire. The rude hill fortresses, which so frequently meet the eye of the traveller in Central India, were originally built by the Bheels and the other aboriginal tribes. If a Rajpoot shows you in his country any old, stern, rude fort, he is almost sure to tell you that it was erected by the Bheels.

willingly quit their native hills and mountains for any considerable length of time. Of the sea they have a great horror; but this aversion is equally felt by many other races or tribes in India.

The Puharrees (mountaineers), another portion of the aboriginal stock, have still more sensibly felt the benefits of our rule. They occupy nearly all the mountains near Burdwan, and are a race strikingly distinct from those of the plain in features, language, civilization and religion. They have no castes, care nothing for the Hindū deities, and are even said to have no idols. They live chiefly by the chase, for which they are provided, like the Bheels, with bows and arrows, few of them having fire-arms. They pay no taxes and live with their own chiefs under British protection. A deadly feud existed between them and the cultivators of the neighbouring lowlands, they being untamed thieves and murderers, continually making forays, and the Mohammedan Zemindars of the plain killing them like mad dogs or tigers, whenever they get them within gun-shot. No service has produced more able and excellent men than that of the Honorable East India Company, whether we look at the civil or the military department—a pretty good proof that patronage has been wisely distributed by the Court of Directors, whose powers are now to be abridged by the Imperial Government. One of these civil servants, Cleveland by name, though a young man, undertook to remedy this state of things, and to bring the Puharrees within the pale of civilization. He rigorously forbade, and promptly punished all violence from the Zemindars of the plain, who were often the aggressors; he got some of the Puharrees or mountaineers to enter his service, and took pains to attach them to him, and to learn their language. He made shooting parties into the mountains, treating kindly all whom he could get to approach him, and established regular bazaars at the villages nearest to them, where he encouraged them to bring down for sale game, millet, wax, hides, and honey, all which their hills produce in great abundance. He gave them wheat and barley for seed, and encouraged their cultivation by the assurance that they should not be taxed, and that none but their own chiefs should be their Zemindars. When, by constant care, he had made good progress in his most meritorious self-imposed task, he raised a corps of Sepoys from among

them, which enabled him not only to protect the peaceable part of the community, but to quell, with a body of troops accustomed to mountain warfare, any serious disturbance which might arise. This good and wise man died in 1784, at the early age of twenty-nine. A monument was raised to his memory, near Boglipore, at the joint expense of the highland chiefs and lowland Zemindars, which still remains in good repair, having been endowed by them with some lands for its maintenance. The honoured name of Cleveland ought never to be omitted in any account of British India!

Notwithstanding their poverty, their living chiefly by the chase, and always going armed, the general conduct of the Puharrees has been orderly and loyal. They are hospitable according to their small means, and have no sort of objection to eat with or after Europeans. They are said to be a little too fond of ardent spirits, a fault common to all inhabitants of mountainous regions. Among themselves, they have always been exceedingly honest, and (an immense distinction between them and the Hindūs), they hate and despise a lie more than most nations in the world. There is hardly any instance on record of a chief violating his word. Their Sepoys who have committed any fault, own it readily, and either ask pardon or silently submit to their punishment. Though, as compared with the Hindūs, they are slovenly in their persons, they are very clean in their cottages. The men are still chiefly occupied in hunting, but the women are very industrious in cultivating the little patches of ground round their villages. Both men and women are intelligent and lively, but rather passionate, and they differ from most of the Hindūs in being fond of music and having a good ear. Bishop Heber compared them to our own Welsh mountaineers. Their religion affords a striking and pleasing contrast to the foul idolatries by which it is surrounded. It teaches the belief of one Supreme God. Prayer to God is strictly enjoined morning and evening. They say they are strictly forbidden by God to beat, abuse, or injure their neighbours, or to tell a lie, which they hold to be the greatest of all crimes. But beneath this Supreme Being, they acknowledge the existence of tutelary gods, and some evil deities; and to these they offer up propitiatory sacrifices, not of human beings but of buffalo, goats, fowls, and eggs. Every village has its tutelary genius, and every house its

household genius. "Pow" is the genius of the road, mist, and mountain, to whom they sacrifice before undertaking a journey. They believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, chiefly carried on by means of transmigration. The Puharrees are a healthy race, but in former times the small-pox used to make dreadful ravages among them. Here, as in so many other parts of India, the opportunity was afforded of introducing a great and lasting benefit. An English doctor vaccinated some of their children, and taught them the benefits of that simple operation. They were very thankful for it, bringing their children from thirty and fifty miles off to Boglipore to obtain it. More than a quarter of a century ago vaccination had been generally introduced among them. Altogether, they seem to have fewer prejudices than any other people in India.

The existence of cannibals in India, though long doubted, is a fact which has been only recently established. It has been proved beyond all question, that the Kookees, who infest the Blue Mountains of Chittagong, on the side of Ava or Burmah, feed upon human flesh, and delight in the horrid repast. Major Gairdner, superintendent of the Company's grand elephant depôt in Chittagong, was in the habit of sending hunters into the Blue Mountains. The pursuit of wild elephants in these regions brought us acquainted with a race of cannibals scarcely to be distinguished, in appearance and habits, from the monkeys with which they herd. These Kookees are low in stature, have protuberant bellies, muscular limbs, and harsh set features. They speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, and build their temporary villages on the boughs of the forest trees. They wander in herds from one wilderness to another. When a site favourable to their purpose has been found, the whole community or herd immediately set to work to collect bamboos and branches of trees, which are afterwards fashioned into platforms and placed across the lofty boughs of the different trees. On this foundation the rude grass superstructure is raised which forms the hut. When these huts are completed, the women and children are put into their aërial abodes. The men then lop of all the branches within reach of the ground, and having constructed for themselves rough ladders of bamboo, they ascend the trees by means of these rude staircases, drawing them up after them to prevent the intrusion of

strangers, and as a necessary precaution against the encroachments of their four-footed companions of the forest. In this manner they repose, floating in the branches and cradled by the winds. They openly boast of their feats of cannibalism, showing, with the strongest expressions of satisfaction, the bones of their fellow-creatures who have fallen a prey to their horrible appetites. So intent are they in hunting for human flesh, that our superintendent was always obliged to send out the men employed in hunting the elephants well armed with muskets, and in not fewer than parties of ten. One poor man they caught while off his guard, and they devoured him before his life-blood had congealed in his veins. Attempts have been made to subdue and civilize these people, and one of their head men was won over, and employed by Major Gairdner at the elephant depôt, but he could not be induced to relinquish his old habits. In a short time he was detected in the commission of a murder, and was executed by the civil authorities of Chittagong.*

These savages, strange as it may appear, were living within 150 miles of Calcutta, the metropolis of British India and the seat of Government, and yet even their existence was scarcely known except by a few persons in authority, comparatively little information from the woods and jungle of the wild portions of Bengal finding its way to the Calcutta newspapers. Now, however, that the Blue Mountains are frequently traversed by our light troops from Chittagong or from Arracan, and that the frontier is becoming more settled and more peopled, the cannibals are retiring from their forests and rapidly disappearing. Many, we believe, have been shot down like wild beasts, and many more have crossed the frontier into Burmah; but we have heard of some who have been captured and then reclaimed by patience and gentle treatment. But for the establishment of a strong government they might long have polluted and disgraced the soil of India.

The Siks had proved themselves to be the fiercest, the most obstinate, and by far the bravest enemy with whom we ever had to contend in India. Lord Hardinge himself was hardly prepared for the firmness with which they stood to their ranks and the valour with which they fought. To a great

* Henry H. Spry, M.D., 'Modern India.' The Doctor had his information from Major Gairdner himself.

extent they had the advantages of military discipline: they had not yet had time to forget the teaching of Avitabile, Ventura, and the other Italian and French officers who had served the Old Lion of Lahore, Runjeet Sing. Veterans in Indian warfare declared that the Mahrattas, the Ghoorkas, the Jauts, and the very Afghans, were little as enemies in the field when compared with the Sikhs. They had been terribly handled by Lords Hardinge and Gough, but it soon became evident that they required more beating.

Jealousies and disputes between the British and a Sik chieftain arose at Moultan. This is the capital of a district lying between the left bank of the Indus and the right bank of its tributary the Sutledge, and reaching to the point of juncture of those two rivers. The district had been subdued and the city of Moultan captured by Runjeet Sing, though not until he had repeatedly failed and sustained very heavy losses in the attempt. The city, even for these turbulent regions, was distinguished by its proneness to violence. The Old Lion of Lahore appointed a governor to rule over the city and district. His nominee was murdered in a tumultuous affray soon after the death of Runjeet Sing. His son, Moolraj, succeeded him, and was the Dewan or Governor of Moultan when the victories of Lords Hardinge and Gough threw open to us the gates of Lahore, the capital of the whole of the Punjab. Although, according to the treaty, we maintained a considerable force at Lahore, with the view of tranquillizing the country, and although Moolraj was somewhat suspected as a turbulent and intriguing man, the arrangements, as far as they related to him, were not disturbed, and he was left in quiet to govern Moultan. It is made to appear that Moolraj very soon took up views and projects prejudicial to our interests, and entered upon a correspondence with parties at Lahore who were eager for a renewal of the war, and inflated with the belief that they could drive the English from every part of the Punjab, and restore the frontier as formerly fixed by Runjeet Sing. It was deemed expedient to remove Moolraj from a position in which, if so inclined, he could be very dangerous; and the established government at Lahore, allied with and supported by the British, proposed to substitute for him the Sirdar Khan Singh. It was believed at Lahore that Moolraj, seeing the inutility of resistance, acquiesced in this arrange-

ment. Mr. Agnew, a Bengal civil servant and assistant to our resident at Lahore, and Lieutenant Anderson of the European Bombay Fusiliers, were deputed to proceed with the Sirdar Khan from Lahore, and install him as the new Governor of Moultan. The two Englishmen, accompanied by a very small escort, arrived at Moultan on the 17th of April, 1848. The town was formally and quietly transferred by Moolraj to the Sirdar, the object of the mission seemed to be entirely accomplished, and the tranquillity of Moultan to be secure, when, on the following day, the 18th, the two Englishmen were suddenly attacked and desperately wounded. They were carried to a small fort outside the town, being attended by the Sirdar Khan Singh. A fire was opened upon their place of refuge from Moultan, but, owing to the distance, this did not produce much effect. But, on the 21st, the Moultan troops marched out to the fort, and the Sik garrison within immediately opened the gates. The two wounded and almost helpless Englishmen were murdered forthwith. It is still doubtful whether the first attack upon them within the town of Moultan proceeded from deep laid treachery, or from sudden impulse of rage—a passion to which these people are very subject; nor is it quite clear that Moolraj really ordered the attack on the fort and the dastardly assassination of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson. He always pretended that the attack was without his sanction or privity. So soon as the intelligence reached Lahore, a body of 3000 Siks was ordered to march to Moultan, under the command of Shere Singh. The last named chief had made the very warmest professions of fidelity to us and zeal for our service, and he had won so much on the good graces of our officers at Lahore that they had become accustomed to call him "a good fellow." It appears that he was accustomed to make one of their shooting parties, and to distinguish himself with his excellent "Manton."* Others might be false, but, in the apprehension of these (perhaps not very thoughtful) officers, Shere Singh would be as true as daylight. At this juncture, our fortunes depended upon a young lieutenant of the Honourable Company's service—the now well-known H. Edwardes. It appears to us rather too much to style this young officer the "Modern Clive," and it is pos-

* 'Narrative of the Second Sikh War,' &c, By Edward Joseph Thackwell, Esq., late Aide-de-camp to General Thackwell.

sible that an exaggerated praise may not have proved beneficial to him; yet it is quite certain that, under circumstances of surprise and exceedingly great difficulty, he behaved with admirable promptitude, decision, and spirit. He was on detached service, in a weak town, and with a very small force under him, when the Moultan storm rolled onward, and burst over his head. Edwardes held his ground, concerted (unaided) a plan of operations, effected his junction with Colonel Cortlandt, and bore a conspicuous part in several hot skirmishes, and in one sanguinary battle in which the Moultan forces were thoroughly defeated. Colonel Cortlandt, being still numerically weak, called upon our ally the Khan of Bhawulpore for reinforcements. Where nearly every thing was doubt, it was questioned for a time whether the Bhawulpore ruler would be true or false to his engagements. He proved true. Moolraj endeavoured to prevent this junction of forces; but after some hard fighting on the banks of the Chenab he was thoroughly defeated, and left behind him six guns and all his baggage and stores.

Moolraj fell back upon Moultan, followed by the British and their allies; but before submitting to a siege, he came out of the town and fought another battle. He was once more defeated, and, taking refuge within the walls of Moultan he strengthened the place as well as time and circumstances would allow. In a very few days he was besieged by an army of 20,000 men (of whom nearly 6000 were British troops), under the command of General Whish. But disturbances arose in other quarters, many of the chiefs who had submitted and vowed fidelity to us, flew to arms, and we found fierce enemies on every side. In these difficulties, Major Lawrence, Captain Abbot, and other officers, conducted themselves in the most praiseworthy manner, making head against a torrent which threatened to overwhelm the whole of our forces in that part of India. General Whish was, however, compelled to raise the siege of Moultan; for Shere Singh, the "good fellow," went over to the enemy with all his troops, which at the moment amounted to about 5000 men. He was presently joined by other forces, and nearly every Sik soldier, whose spirit had not been broken by the terrible results of the former collision with British troops, joined or prepared to do so. Lord Gough, who remained in India as Commander-in-Chief, assembled an

army on a large scale at Ferozepore, to crush a movement which could hardly be checked by an inferior force. In fact, Sik emissaries reported in nearly every quarter, and far beyond the limits of the Punjab, that the British would soon be driven back upon Delhi, and thence down the Ganges towards Calcutta.

The banks of the Chenab (the middle of the five rivers by which the Punjab is watered,) became the scene of some dreadful carnage which might, in good part, have been avoided by a general more cool, prudent and cautious, than the always brave—heroically brave—Lord Gough. Through an unpardonable negligence, our pontoon train for the passage of the rivers, was not fit for the work, and other oversights and mistakes were committed which certainly ought not to have occurred in the year 1848, in an army which counted many veterans who had seen quite recently a good deal of service, and which was in all its parts commanded by British officers. Lord Gough divided his forces and had recourse to a strategy which could not for a moment deceive so sharp-sighted a warrior as Shere Singh. While part of our army was on the left and the other part on the right bank of the Chenab river, a disastrous conflict took place near Mamnuggur, and cost the lives of many brave men and several officers, without leading to any very important result. A skilful general prides himself on fighting only where and when he wishes; but Lord Gough seems generally to have got into action at the time and in the place chosen by, or best suited to, his enemy. The battle of Chillianwallah (13th January, 1849), though it terminated in an indecisive victory, cost the British, their sepoys and allies, a prodigious loss of life and limb, and was more than once on the very point of turning out a thorough defeat. An army has not often been more committed than was ours on this spot, between the rivers Chenab and Jhelum. In the words of one of the Company's officers,—"The Siks fought like devils, singly, sword-in-hand, and strove to break through our lines." The deficiencies of our cavalry in arms, accoutrements, proper riding and proper tactics, were strongly displayed on this not inglorious but very unhappy day. Should Chillianwallah lead to an entire revision and well-considered reform of all these cavalry matters, the battle will not have been given in vain, and we may have compensation, hereafter, even for that fright-

ful expenditure of the lives of brave men. Experience for many years has shown how deficient cavalry is, how it has fallen off instead of improving, and how much is required to be done in order to render it as useful to the State and as formidable to an enemy as it ought to be. A cavalry soldier should find himself strong and firm in his seat, easy in his dress, so as to have perfect freedom of action, and with a weapon in his hand capable of cutting down an adversary at a blow. Now look at any of our heavy, middle, or light cavalry! The men are seated in slippery saddles with long stirrups, in a forced unnatural position; they are cramped by tight clothes, and carry swords in their hands that are really good for nothing in close combat. It was incontrovertibly proved at Ramnuggur and the other subsequent actions that our troopers had very little confidence in their swords. The enemy, like most Asiatics, kept their short handy swords as sharp as carving knives. It is said that, whilst our poor fellows laboured in vain, with their long, awkward, *blunt* sabres to draw blood, a touch from the sharp sword of the Siks left the bold Englishmen at their mercy—which mercy consisted in their hacking them to pieces. The Siks were wretchedly mounted, their horses being small, meagre, ill-shaped and of very low breed; but the men rode in a firm, natural seat, which alone gave them an immense advantage over our German-taught Dragoons, Hussars and Lancers. If our cavaliers had ridden in our true, national seat, or as Englishmen ride across country, they would, no doubt, in spite of their bad swords, have given a much better account of Shere Singh's contemptible looking cavalry.* On the 21st of February, with far better success, Lord Gough fought the famous battle of Gujerat. Its chief and distinguishing feature was the admirable service done by our artillery, which, in fact, decided the fortune of the day. The enemy mustered on the ground full 60,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery; and these were supported by a body of 1500 Afghan horse under Akram Khan, a son of our old friend Dost Mahommed Khan, who had attempted to delude the English into the belief that they intended to be strictly neutral. The retreat of the Sik army, hotly pressed, soon

* See 'Cavalry, and its Tactics,' by Captain L. E. Nolan, 15th Hussars; and 'Narrative of the Second Sik War,' by E. J. Thackwell, Esq., late Aide-de-camp to General Thackwell.

became a perfect flight; the men threw away their arms to conceal that they were soldiers, and they left very nearly all their artillery in our hands. Akram Khan and his Afghans appear never to have drawn rein until they reached Attock. On the 6th of March, Shere Singh, who had no longer an army, and who was pressed on every side by his pursuers, announced to Lord Gough that he and his followers were ready to lay down their arms. On the 8th, he arrived himself at our camp to arrange the mode and terms of submission. He was told that the only terms which could be listened to were those of unconditional surrender. He then repaired to the skeleton of his army to announce the result of the interview, and the British troops steadily advanced upon his camp. On the 11th, the British reached Hoormuk, where they were presently visited by Shere Singh and other chiefs, who were followed by the guns they had taken from us at Chillianwallah. Shere Singh once more returned to the remnant of his forces, to prepare it for the unconditional surrender. This humiliating act occupied some time, and it was not until the 14th that the whole of the Sik officers and soldiers had delivered up their arms. The number of guns surrendered at this time was 41, making the whole amount of artillery taken from the Siks since the commencement of the campaign to consist of 158 pieces.

General Sir Walter Gilbert, as true a horseman as ever put foot in stirrup, and as brave a soldier as ever drew sword, spurred after the treacherous Afghans, in the hope of overtaking them and giving them a severe lesson before they should reach their mountain fastnesses. At his approach they fled with headlong speed from Attock, not even allowing themselves time to destroy a bridge of boats which had been thrown across the Indus. Securing the best of these boats, Sir Walter crossed the river, carrying his light artillery with him. It was expected that the Afghans would face about at Hyderabad and strike a blow for the honour of arms or the gratification of their hatred; but they halted nowhere until they got into the memorable Khyber pass which leads towards Cabul. Their flight was too precipitate to allow our troops even to touch their rear, and Gilbert was too wise to risk his troops in the terrible defile which, on our retreat from Cabul, had been strewed with the bodies of our soldiers and officers.

General Whish, as soon as able, had renewed the siege of Moultan, which had surrendered on the 22d of January, after a very determined resistance on the part of Moolraj. The surrender was, of course, unconditional, for the city of Moultan had been the cause and primary source of this tremendous outbreak, and the murder of Agnew and Anderson indisposed our commanders to leniency or any romantic generosity. An eye-witness has thus described the scene which was presented when the Sik chief and all his men came into our camp: "First appeared about 200 ill-clothed, miserable wretches, who seemed broken and dispirited; then followed about 3500 hard, trained, stern, and stalwart-looking men; they had defended the fort to the last, and abandoned it only when no longer tenable. They looked as if they would have fought to the death in the breaches, if such had been the will of their chief. They brought camels and horses, and large bundles of things along with them. These, together with their arms, were placed in charge of the prize agents as they passed. At last came Moolraj, and his brethren and chiefs. He was gorgeously attired in silks and splendid arms, and rode a magnificent Arab steed, with a rich saddle cloth of scarlet. No small curiosity was experienced to discover the appearance of one who had maintained a defence obstinate and protracted beyond any related in the annals of modern warfare. He but little exceeds the middle size; is powerfully but elegantly formed; his keen, dark, piercing, restless eyes surveyed at a glance every thing around. He wore neither the face of defiance nor that of dejection, but moved along under the general gaze as one conscious of having bravely done his duty, and aware of being the object of universal observation." Being much too dangerous to be left at large, he was conveyed under a strong escort to one of the Company's safe places of confinement.

The war was over; and we could count and mourn in leisure over our losses. These were, indeed, heavy and deplorable—and the more deplorable because no inconsiderable portions of them might have been avoided by military coolness, conduct and science. The names and honours of the dead are abundantly inscribed in other places; yet, even in this sketch, it may be proper to record those of a few of the most distinguished victims. Colonel Havelock of the 14th Dragoons; Colonel

Cureton; Captain Fitzgerald, son of the general officer of that name, fell at Rumnuggar, where other brave officers were desperately wounded by the sharp swords of the Siks: Young Cureton, a lieutenant in the 14th Dragoons and son of the Colonel who had perished at Rumnuggar; Lieutenant Nightingale, Major Bamfield, brigadier general Pennycuick, Major Payntor, Major Harris, fell at Chillianwallah, where, within the short space of two hours and a half, 89 officers and 2357 fighting men either lost their lives or dropped blood. Few battles of ancient or modern times have presented such a roll of casualties—such an enormous sacrifice of life, within so brief a space of time.* The Siks had given additional proof—scarcely necessary to establish the fact—that they were by far the most formidable of our Indian enemies. Their courage was, however, kept up by large doses of opium, bang, and other maddening drugs, and it was disgraced by a bloody, savage disposition, and an apparent incapability of mercy to a disarmed foe. They fired into our wounded as they lay helpless on the ground, and hacked them to pieces. They had all the foulest vices that disgrace the worst of Asiatic nations.

The Maharajah, whom we had put upon the musnud or throne of Lahore in 1846, was still only a boy, incapable of government, and giving little promise either of principle or of future ability. It was determined to give him a good pension and set him entirely aside, and to annex the whole of the Punjab to our own territories. In a public proclamation, dated 29th March, 1849, Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General, announced this annexation, and exposed the grounds upon which it was justified. "For many years," said His Lordship, "in all the time of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Siks. When Runjeet Singh was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the councils of the State, the Sirdars and the army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, tendered to the Governor-General the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of

* E. J. Thackwell, Esq. 'Narrative of the Second Sik War.'

the British government. The Governor-General extended the clemency of his government to the State of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharajah having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the States. The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them. But the Sik people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound. Of their annual tribute no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the government of India have never been re-paid. The control of the British government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms. Peace has been cast aside, British officers have been murdered when acting for the state; others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity. Finally, the army of the state and the whole Sik people, led by a member of the regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions. The government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound, in its duty, to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace. Wherefore the Governor-General of India has declared, and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end; and that all the territories are now and henceforth a portion of the British Empire in India."

No candid mind will deny that the annexation was just enough, but many will still doubt whether it were expedient. Too much of the country has been the grave of English soldiers; and, apparently, in no part of it have we found anything

but a sullen, vindictive, ferocious people, ever ready for plots, for assassinations, or other deeds of craft and violence. By our two wars the disciplined Sikh army, which alone could have been very formidable to us, was annihilated, its artillery and nearly all its *materiel* were in our hands, and, assuredly, no other such army could have been created in those regions except in the not very probable case of there rising up another Runjeet Singh—that very extraordinary "Lion of Lahore," who had made the kingdom over which he ruled.

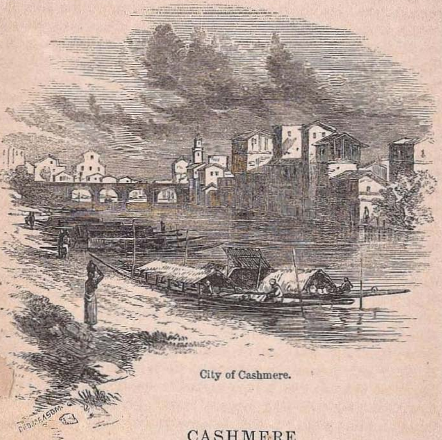
The dethroned Maharajah was treated with liberality and consideration. The few chiefs who had not engaged in hostilities against us were allowed to retain their property and their rank. According to the invariable rule of our Indian government, full religious liberty was secured to all the people, whether Siks, Mussulmans, or Hindūs; the followers of each creed being assured that they would never be permitted to molest or interfere with those of other faiths. The landed possessions and all the property of the chiefs who had been up in arms against us were confiscated; but this rule was relaxed in many cases. All the fortresses and forts which could not conveniently be occupied by our troops were totally destroyed, and other measures were taken to deprive those turbulent people of the means of renewing either tumult or war.

It was subsequently determined to put Moolraj, the ex-governor of Moultan, upon his trial before a special military commission, consisting of four British and two native officers, and a colonel of the Sik army, upon the following charges:—1. As having aided and abetted in the murder of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson. 2. Having been an accessory before the fact, inasmuch as he had instigated his troops to the attack and murder. 3. Having been an accessory after the fact, inasmuch as he had rewarded the murderers. Moolraj was allowed the aid of an advocate, and Captain Hamilton, who was selected for that purpose, discharged his task with zeal and ability. The trial lasted fifteen days. At its close the court found the prisoner "guilty" on all the three charges, and passed upon him the sentence of death. This, however, was commuted into imprisonment for life.

Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of Lord Dalhousie, we had soon to draw the sword once more. A little more than two years after the termination of the war in the Punjab, we

were involved in a second Burmese war. The great Duke of Wellington himself declared that this new war was a necessity on our part. Its very great but not unexpected difficulties, the course it has taken, and the limits to which it has been carried, are fresh in the recollection of all readers. The events, or the details of them, do not belong to our present subject.* In the spring of 1852, a British force was landed at Rangoon; Martaban, the town of Pegu, Prome and other places, were soon captured, and early in the year 1853, Lord Dalhousie announced, by public proclamation, that the whole of Pegu was annexed to our dominions and would be maintained by our troops. This ancient, and, at one time very populous and flourishing kingdom, was overrun and conquered by the Burmese in the 16th century, and had been wretchedly misruled by them ever since. The Peguans detested their oppressors, and it was thought (and is so still) that they might quietly and contentedly submit to our rule, and gradually become an industrious and highly useful set of subjects. As the court of Ava has not concluded any treaty with us, the war cannot be considered as concluded; and events may yet arise to oblige the advance of our army up the Irrawaddi river and necessitate the temporary occupation of the city of Ava. Adding our present conquests to those made during the first Burmese war, we have a very extensive empire in these Trans-Gangetic countries—an empire not to be properly governed without great political and administrative ability, and not to be retained except by force of arms.

* Perhaps we may be again allowed to refer to the volume in Bohn's Illustrated Library on China and the Indo-Chinese Nations, including Ava or the Burmese Empire.



City of Cashmere.

CASHMERE.

Of all our recent acquisitions, Cashmere, which was long held by the Afghans and then fell into the possession of Runjeet Sing, is indisputably the fairest, the healthiest, and the most interesting.

> "Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
> With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave?"

This favoured valley is surrounded by lofty mountains, which divide it from Little Tibet on the north, from Ladāk on the east, from the Punjab on the south, and from Puklee on the west. It is fenced or walled in from the rest of the world: there are but seven passes into the province, four from the

south, one from the west, and two from the north. The pass of Bember is the best; but that of Mozzyufferabad or Baramoola, lying towards Afghanistan, has been most used of late years.

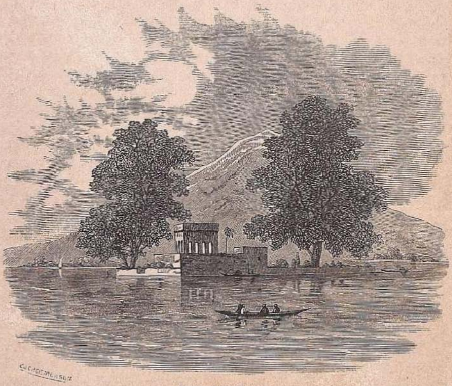
That excellent old traveller, François Bernier, who sojourned in it three months, calls Cashmere the Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies. "It is an exquisite country," says he, "diversified with innumerable hills and hillocks: it is about thirty leagues long and twelve leagues broad. The first mountains which encompass it—I mean those nearest to the plain—are of middling height, all green with trees or with pasturage, full of flocks and herds of all kinds, as cows, sheep, goats, and horses. They offer abundance of game, as partridges, hares, gazelles, and some animals which bear musk. Bees there are in vast swarms; and, that which is very strange in India, one very rarely finds either serpents or tigers, either wolves or lions; so that one may well say that the mountains of Cashmere are innocent mountains, and flowing with milk and honey, like those of the Promised Land. Beyond these mountains of moderate height, rise others to an immense elevation, their summits always covered with snow, and showing themselves above the clouds, tranquil and luminous as Mount Olympus. From all these mountains flows an infinitude of rivulets and brooks, which the inhabitants of the valley conduct to their rice fields, and even to their cultivated terraces on the lower hills. On every side you have cool streams and waterfalls. Many of these uniting, form a very beautiful river, as large as the Seine, which serpentines round the province, passes through the capital city, and issues from the valley at the pass of Baramoola, where it rushes between steep rocks, to throw itself in cataracts down precipices, and then to pursue its course towards the Indus. All these streams and streamlets which descend from the mountains render the valley and its zone of hills so beautiful and so fertile, that one might take the whole province for a vast garden, mixed with towns and villages which show their white walls in the midst of the green trees. Nicely enclosed meadows, rice grounds, corn fields, and fields of hemp and saffron intervene among brooks, canals, small translucent lakes and sparkling cascades. The whole country is sprinkled with the plants and flowers of Europe and with our fruit trees

and our vines, which in season bear their several fruits." In the summer, the rose is seen blooming in every direction, and a cheerful festival, "the Feast of Roses," continues the whole time of their remaining in bloom. "At the keeping of this feast," says an English traveller of the time of Charles I., "we beheld an infinite number of tents pitched, with an incredible crowd of men, women, boys and girls, with music and dances."* The pride and fierceness of the Afghan conquerors were not proof to the fascinations and the gentle influences of the soil and climate and cheerful people; they became indolent and luxurious even in a short residence, and when they stayed for any length of time they fell into the ways of the natives, and were as gentle and as fond of pleasure as they. The Cashmerians, however, are described as an industrious and very ingenious people. They are renowned in the East for the purity of their blood and the symmetry of their form. They have nothing of the Tartar visage. "Above all," says Bernier, "their women are remarkably handsome. I saw faces among them equal to any in Europe." "The Cashmerians," says Mr. Elphinstone, "are a distinct nation of the Hindū stock, and differ in language and manners from all their neighbours. The men are remarkably stout, active, and industrious. They are excessively addicted to pleasure, and are notorious all over the East for falsehood and cunning." Although they remained under Hindū rule until the thirteenth century of our era, and count a long succession of Hindū kings, they are now, by far the greater part, Mohammedans. When first conquered by the Afghans, in the time of Ahmed Shah, they were very rebellious and unruly, but their spirit was reduced by the strong measures of the new government. The governor of Cashmere was invested with all the powers of a king, and the administration was very tyrannical. The people were disarmed, the power of the native chiefs was annihilated, and a strong force of Afghans and Kuzzilbashes was kept up within the valley. From the small number of passes, the government was enabled to prevent any persons entering or quitting the country without its permission—its numerous spies pervaded all ranks of society, and the inhabitants were harassed by every kind of

* T. Herbert.

oppression: this tyranny increased the immorality and looseness of their character, but it could not destroy their natural gaiety. This has survived alike the oppression of the Afghans and the tyranny of the Siks by which it was succeeded. Our recent English travellers speak of the Cashmerians as a people easy to govern and easy to improve. Their falsehood and cunning were probably nothing but the result of oppression and tyranny. In such vices the weak nearly always seek a refuge from the strong.

The poem of Lalla Rookh has familiarised the English reader with the principal lake of the valley—the Lake of Cashmere par excellence,—and with its fairy little isles, set



Lake of Cashmere.

with harbours and large-leaved aspen trees, slender and tall; and for once poetry may be taken as a correct and sober description of the reality. In Mr. Elphinstone's time the capital city of Cashmere was the largest in the Afghan dominions,

containing from a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand inhabitants. The gross revenue of the province was then said to be nearly equal to half a million sterling. The city is without walls (a rare thing in the East), it is situated in the valley, on the shore of the sweet lake which is from twelve to fifteen miles long, and it is about two leagues from the mountains which form a semicircle behind it. As it traverses the town the river is spanned by two or three wooden bridges. The houses, though mostly built of wood, are described as neat, commodious, and even elegant. Some of them are three stories high. The houses which face the river have all gardens between them and the river bank. Nearly every house has its garden, and many of those which do not face the river stand on canals that communicate with the lake. Beyond that fine sheet of water the slopes of the hills are completely covered with country houses and pleasure gardens, for on that side the air is found most delicious, and the eye is enchanted by the prospect of the lake, the islands, and the city. It is related of the Mogul Emperor Jehanghire that he became so enamoured of the valley that he could scarcely quit it, and that he was often heard to say he would rather lose all the rest of his empire than lose Cashmere. When Bernier arrived at the capital, in the suite of the Emperor Aurengzebe, all the poets of the country and all the verse-makers among the Moguls united their powers in extolling the valley; for which they were amply rewarded by his majesty.

But the toilet of our ladies has done as much for the fame of Cashmere as poetry or romance. The most remarkable production of the country is found in its universally known and admired shawls. These supply the elegant and rich all over the world, and they are said to be manufactured at sixteen thousand looms, each of which gives employment to three men. It appears that the material is not of native growth. The wool of which the shawls are made is imported from Tibet and certain parts of Tartary, in which countries alone the goat which produces it is said to thrive. In its raw state this goat-wool costs in Cashmere from ten to twenty rupees the turruk, which is supposed to be about 12 lbs. English weight. The whitest sort is the dearest. But the cost of the material is as nothing compared with the labour-cost.

Of the best and most worked shawls, not so much as a quarter of an inch is completed in one day by three people, the usual number employed on each shawl. Shawls containing much work are made in separate pieces, and it may be observed that when made up the pieces very rarely correspond in size. The operation of the manufacturers is of course slow, proportionate to the quantity of work which their patterns may require. On plain shawls two persons only are employed, and a long, narrow, but heavy shuttle is used; those of which the pattern is variegated are worked with wooden needles, there being a separate needle for the thread of each colour. The people at the frame or loom are vigilantly superintended by an Oostaud, or foreman, who, in his way, is an artist, and a very skilful one, with a fine eye for colour and ornamental design. If they have any new pattern in hand the Oostaud explains to them the figures, colours, and threads which they are to use, while he keeps before him the pattern drawn upon paper. During the whole operation of making, the rough side of the shawl is uppermost on the frame, notwithstanding which the Oostaud never mistakes the regularity of the most figured patterns.

A merchant, entering largely into the shawl trade, frequently engages a number of families, which he collects in a spot under his eye; or he supplies the head workman with thread which has been previously spun by women and afterwards coloured; and they carry on the manufacture at their own houses, having previously received instructions from the merchant respecting the quality of the goods he may require, their colours, patterns, &c. When the goods are completed the merchant carries them to the custom-office, where each shawl is stamped, and he pays a certain duty, the amount of which is settled according to the quality and value of the piece. Most shawls are exported unwashed and fresh from the loom. At Umritsir, in the Punjab, they are better washed and packed than in Cashmere. But many of the shawls that find their way to the countries of the West arrive in their unwashed state. It is calculated that from eighty to a hundred thousand Cashmere shawls are annually exported. It is scarcely necessary to remind the fair wearers of them in Europe, that they require to be frequently unfolded, shaken,

and well aired, when not in frequent use. The material is very attractive to moths. Bernier says that the finest of the wool of which they are made is taken only from the breast of the Tibet goat. He also remarks that they had vainly tried at Patna, Agra, Lahore, and other cities of India, to rival the excellence of the shawls of Cashmere; and he attributes the superiority to some peculiarity in the water of that country. In Persia, shawls were produced which were not unfrequently sold to Europeans as Cashmeres, but they could not have deceived any one familiar with the true articles, for they were coarser and heavier, and had little of that softness, that most delicate *morbidezza*, which distinguishes the products of the looms of the Happy Valley.

In former times a caravan set out every year from the Vale of Cashmere, traversed the mountainous regions of Tibet, went across the plains of Tartary, and reached, in about three months, the frontiers of China; although in many parts the route was excessively difficult, and there were numerous mountain-torrents to pass by means of rope-bridges loosely stretched from precipice to precipice. On its return, the caravan brought musk, China wood, rhubarb, other drugs, and, above all, a great supply of the material for making shawls. But one of the Mogul Emperors attempted the conquest of Tibet, and from that time the commerce of the Cashmerians was obliged to seek other routes. At present the trade with Tibet seems to be carried on at frontier stations, the jealous and timid rulers of that country interdicting access to the interior.

The mountains round Cashmere are in many places inhabited by clans or tribes who have maintained a sort of independence. The southern mountains contain a good many states which appear to be quite independent, and the chiefs of which retain the old Hindū title of Rajah, though they and their subjects are mostly Mohammedans. For mountainous regions, these states or principalities are not ill inhabited. The people resemble the Cashmerians in their language and manners, but have a great mixture of the manners and language of Hindūstan and the other countries to the south.

If communication be facilitated by better roads, there is no

doubt that the beautiful Vale of Cashmere will become a place of great resort to our Anglo-Indians in search of a cool and salubrious climate, picturesque scenery, or the pleasures of the chase.

TOLERATION. CHRISTIAN CONVERSION. EDUCATION. BENEFITS OF OUR RULE TO THE NATIVES.

OUR immense power in the East had and has its main foundation in a broad, universal toleration, extending to all religions and to all sects. Without this basis, instead of rising and extending, the whole fabric—as far as it had advanced—would have fallen prostrate many years ago; and without this great principle the internal tranquillity of India and the general well-being of its populations could not now be preserved for a single week. Our government has not only been tolerant itself, but it has enforced the obligation and duty upon the natives of different faiths. They have been enabled to do this by the great number and variety of these faiths, by the way in which the professors of them are mingled and mixed together in the same districts and often in the very same towns and villages, and by the astonishing effects which discipline and a kind and liberal treatment have produced on the native troops. The sepoy looks to the standard under which he serves, and to nothing else: the deep sense of military duty and fidelity extinguishes whatever flame of fanaticism may have originally been in his breast; and this is the case whether he be Hindū of Mussulman, Jain or Bheel. About thirty years ago a dreadful tumult occurred in the populous, crowded city of Benares, which is esteemed a holy city not only by the Hindūs but also by the Mussulmans and other religionists. It arose out of the accidental meeting in the street of two religious processions, the one Mohammedan the other Hindū. It appears that neither would make way for the other, and that angry words and blows were exchanged. Forthwith about one half of the population was literally armed against the

other, and the fury of both was boundless. The Mussulmans broke down a famous ancient pillar, called Siva's Walking-Staff, held in high veneration by the Hindūs. The Hindūs retaliated by breaking down and burning a Mohammedan mosque. The first aggressors then retorted by killing a cow and pouring the blood into the sacred well of the Hindūs. This last insupportable, horrible outrage, brought every worshipper of Siva and Bramah to the field of action, and, wherever met, the Mohammedans were attacked with frantic rage. Proving the more numerous party, the Hindūs might have inflicted a terrible slaughter, and would certainly have burned every mosque in Benares if our sepoys had not been called in. By far the greater number of these soldiers were themselves Hindūs, probably one half were Brahmins. "Perhaps," says Bishop Heber, "any one of them, if he had been his own master, would have rejoiced in an opportunity of shedding his life's blood in a quarrel with the Mussulmans; and of the mob who attacked them, Brahmins, Youguees, and other religious mendicants formed the front rank, their bodies and faces covered with chalk and ashes, their long hair untied as devoted to death, showing their strings and yelling out to the sepoys all the bitterest curses of their religion if they persisted in waging an unnatural war against their brethren and their gods. The sepoys, however, were immovable. Regarding their military oath as the most sacred of all obligations, they fired at a Brahmin as readily as at any one else, and kept guard at the gate of a mosque as faithfully and fearlessly as if it had been the gate of one of their own temples. Their courage and steadiness preserved Benares from ruin." Discipline could scarcely have been put to a harder test.

But this discipline and faithfulness have never once failed, except on the rare occasions when our Indian government or commanding officers have made needless encroachments upon national usages or given offence to religious prejudices. The disaffections which occurred at Vellore, Hyderabad, and Bangalore were almost entirely caused by our own imprudence.

In former times, sanguinary conflicts between Hindūs and Mussulmans, as between the sectarians, were far from being infrequent: now, such disputes very rarely occur; and wherever there is a military or a police force at hand, they are

put down immediately or before much blood can be shed. The Hindū repairs to his pagoda, the Mussulman calls the faithful to prayer in his mosque, the Parsee or Fire-worshipper kneels to the rising sun, the Christian worships the God of Truth in his Church, an infinitude of minor sects publicly pursue their several courses; and all this goes on within the walls of the same city without disturbance, and frequently in the closest juxta-position.* Temples, mosques, schools, and other religious institutions, both Hindū and Mussulman, had from time to time acquired considerable endowments in land or in the shape of assignments of land revenue. Under the native governments these were often granted and often resumed; but we found them in considerable numbers, and we have left them undisturbed. Unlike all previous rulers, the English Government has scrupulously abstained from any violent interference in the religious beliefs of the natives. Its ecclesiastical establishments are for the benefit of its own Christian servants, and that of the merchants, traders, travellers, and others who frequent the country and carry with them a reverence for the Church of their forefathers. For far too long a time the spiritual good of these numerous and increasing classes of Europeans was overlooked. Of late years, Christian churches and chapels have risen in nearly all the considerable towns, stations, and cantonments. A revenue, secured by land rental, goes to the support of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. It was soon felt that India was too vast a field to be included in one diocese. The Bishop of Calcutta is now aided by subordinate Bishops at Madras, Bombay, and Colombo (Ceylon). There is also an English Bishop at Vittoria (Hong-kong), who may exercise a very beneficial influence in the countries and islands adjacent to India. Seeing our former negligence in all matters relating to Church or religious observance, the poor misbelievers were for a long time inclined to think that Englishmen had no belief whatever. It was well to get rid of this impression; and it was surely of the utmost importance that that very considerable portion of the population which goes by the name of 'half-caste' should be provided with instruction in the faith of their fathers; and that Englishmen, in quitting their country for the East, should not leave behind them nearly all the means of Christian worship, and

* See Appendix B.

quite all of that "Beauty of Holiness" which belongs to the true Anglican Church.

Some state provision is made for the Kirk of Scotland, Scotchmen and Presbyterians being so very numerous in the country. The other Protestant sects (more numerous and divergent than we could wish) are self-supporting, or are supported by home-societies, chiefly in England, Scotland, and the United States of America. Comprising these sects, as well as the Church of England and the Church of Rome, there may now be in the whole of the Peninsula about 500 missionaries*—a number almost lost sight of in a population of one hundred and fifty millions. In Southern India the labours of the Church of England Missionaries have, of late years, been attended with very considerable success. Schools for the natives, some governmental and some missionary, are now very numerous. Unfortunately, it seems to be admitted that the governmental schools have not done much either for religion or for morality, the students who go into them as Hindūs or Mohammedans coming out with little or no faith at all, and their conduct in society being afterwards deplorably unprincipled or lax.

One distinction between the missionary schools and those of government is this,—the missionaries make the Bible a class-book, while the government teachers exclude it. The scholars of the missionaries need not believe the Bible, but they must read it, and have the opportunity of believing. It is found that this regulation by no means deters children from going to the missionary schools, which, indeed, are said to be much better filled than those of government, by persons who wish to receive a cheap and practical education. We are fully sensible of the difficulty and even danger of any direct interference with the old religions or idolatries, but we cannot believe that a merely secular education will much contribute to make the population either better or happier.

That the great mass of the population of India is far more at ease under our dominion than they were when ruled by their

* These missionaries (among whom we do not include the regular Anglican clergy, the Company's chaplains, &c.), are Europeans or Americans. In addition to them, there appear to be some six hundred native Indian preachers or teachers, who proclaim the faith to which they have been converted in the bazaars and market-places.

Nabobs and Rajahs we very firmly believe. The conviction is indeed needed to be able to plead a justification of many of our measures. They are slightly taxed (though the taxation is in some instances clumsily arranged); they have no military conscription or forced services; they live in great security from the march of armies, as from rebellions, insurrections, and internal wars; and many of them still recollect in their own country, and all of them may hear or witness in the case of their neighbours in the Burman Empire or elsewhere, how very differently all these things were managed under the Hindū and Mohammedan sovereignties.

For ourselves, we cannot mourn over the decayed greatness of the native rulers, whose misgovernment and personal vices are indicated on every side, and whose power really amounted to little more than to the faculty of doing mischief and to the control over exorbitant means of a degrading self-indulgence. We firmly believe that the poor creatures themselves are, in essentials, far happier as they now are, for their pensions and allowances from the Company are most liberal, they are exempted from those cares of state for which they were unfit, and they may go to their beds at night without any fear of being murdered before the morning. In these quarters, however, some discontents and murmuring may occasionally be heard; but these find no echo in the Indian population. The poor appreciate the benefits of the change. When Bishop Heber was making his tour, there was, in the Upper Provinces, a serious apprehension of a season of drought, to be followed by scarcity and famine. But the blessed rains of heaven descended and the horrible fear was removed. At this juncture, Archdeacon Corrie, on his way to join the Bishop, heard two native farmers talking in a field near the road side. "Neighbour," said one of them, "the rain is come at last! This rain will give us bread!" "Yes," said the other, "and we now have a government that will let us eat our bread in peace and quietness!" No rhetoric, no eloquence or poetry, could have paid so good a compliment to the Company and British Government.

Freely admitting that some things have been done amiss, and that there remains much to do, we can, with an honest conviction of its truth, conclude with the summing up of an English writer, whose name is to us unknown, but whose words

we find quoted in the book of an American missionary:*—"The protection of private property is now generally effected by a British administration, though cases of personal hardship occur; bodily suffering and barbarian punishments are restrained; means for an equitable administration of justice have been provided; superior courts of appeal have been established; native chiefs and tributary princes have been compelled to submit to law, and observe something like equity in their proceedings; a vigilant police for the suppression of crime and trial by jury have been either established or restored; the most perfect toleration of religious differences exists, and protection is afforded to each person in the observance of the rites of his chosen religion; peace reigns in districts formerly distracted and torn by the contentions of despots; industry is protected from robbery and private wrong, while the enterprising and successful may amass capital without alarm and enjoy it in security."

By recent acts of our home legislature considerable changes and modifications are introduced, or about to be introduced, in the complicated machinery of our Indian government. That which appears sound and good in theory does not always prove to be so in practice, and many an excellent system has been destroyed or spoilt by attempts made to improve it. The East India Company, as a governing and almost sovereign power, was so remarkable and unique in the world, that we cannot contemplate without a feeling of regret the diminution of its authority, rank and splendour, and the possibility of its gradual extinction. If it was a political anomaly, it was the most splendid anomaly that ever existed among men. To destroy it would be to take out of the world one of its greatest phenomena.

An association of merchants, since not unaptly called "Merchant Princes," with little or no aid from the imperial government of Great Britain, laid and secured the foundations of an Eastern empire, at the distance of fifteen thousand miles from our own shores, and they gradually extended these bases by means of the united valour and wisdom of their own military officers and civil servants. Laurence, Clive, Coote, Calliaud,

* 'India and the Hindūs,' etc., by F. D. W. Ward, late missionary at Madras, and member of the American Oriental Society.

Portrait of Warren Hastings.

Carnac, Popham, Warren Hastings, were all servants of the Company long before they held commissions from the crown. In those days of daring adventure and extensive enterprise, the Company always found in its own ranks men admirably fitted for the work in hand, and capable of facing any emergency that might suddenly present itself. This, with very rare exceptions, has continued to be the case down to our own day; and, in our opinion, this alone is sufficient to prove that the service was by its nature calculated to produce or foster very able men, and that the Court of Directors could not have made a bad or unwise use of its patronage. In no other service had unaided merit so fair a chance of promotion; by no state or government whatever were brilliant or valuable services more liberally rewarded. It yet remains to be seen whether the large portion of patronage now taken from the Company and put into the hands of the Imperial Government, or the Ministers

of the Crown for the time being, will be equally well distributed. To the last days of his life, the Duke of Wellington, who gained his first laurels in India, who remained many years in the country, and who never ceased to devote great attention to its affairs, paid a tribute of applause to our old mixed system of Indian administration, and never ceased to deprecate any measure which tended to set aside or materially diminish the authority and influence of the Court of Directors.

APPENDIX.

A.—BUDDHISM.

WHILE nearly every trace of Buddhism, as an actual faith or worship, has long since disappeared, it is universally admitted that India Proper is the country which gave it birth; and that, for many ages, it was almost the sole, exclusive religion of that country. Since its expulsion or retreat from India Proper, its birthplace, it has become the religion of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the high table-land to the north of the Himalaya mountains, as far as the borders of Siberia, and it is the prevailing creed of Ava, Pegu, Siam, Anam or Cochin China, Kamboja, Tonquin, the measureless empire of China, Ceylon, several islands of the Indian Archipelago, and of the populous and important empire of Japan. It flourishes in Nepaul, but most of all in Tibet. Its votaries far outnumber those of all other existing creeds, except the Christian, and they form one fourth of the whole human race. The Christians number about 270,000,000; the Buddhists about 222,000,000. This is the estimate of Major Alexander Cunningham, the author of the most recent and best work on Buddhism.* Other calculations put the number of Buddhists far above that of Christians. According to an estimate given by Hassel, there are now upon

* 'The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India,' etc., London, 1854.

the globe, Christians of all denominations 120,000,000; Jews about 4,000,000; Mahometans, 252,000,000; followers of the Brahman, or now prevailing Indian religion, 111,000,000; Buddhists, 315,000,000. Other writers confidently affirm that the number of Buddhists cannot be less than from 300,000,000 to 350,000,000.

A faith which is spread over so vast a portion of the globe, among so many countries, and so many peoples differing from each other in origin, race, language, and other circumstances, demands some unusual share of attention. There must be something not common in it which has given it this wide diffusion.

The valley of the Ganges was the cradle of Buddhism. The idea that it came from Africa or from among a negro race, or men very black, with curly, woolly hair, is now abandoned. It sprung up among the inhabitants of Central India, where its Topes, inscriptions, and monuments are found in the greater number. It is to the recent examinations of these ancient remains that we are indebted for a flood of light upon the whole subject. It was long customary to fix the date of its birth at about 1000 years before the coming of our Saviour, while some carried it still further back. Major Cunningham somewhat curtails this antiquity, fixing the birth of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ. From Central India and the banks of the Ganges, the faith gradually spread over the whole of India. It was extended to Cashmere and Cabul shortly after the invasion of Alexander the Great, and it was first introduced into China about the beginning of the Christian era, by 500 missionaries, who were natives of, or who proceeded from, the vale of Cashmere. The Buddhists themselves, however much they may disagree as to the period at which the founder of their religion lived, make no pretensions to a very high antiquity as to the formation of their sect. They appear very generally to admit the superior antiquity of the Brahmanical faith. The use of the Sanscrit language is considered one of the strongest arguments in support of the opinion that Buddhism originated in a country where Brahmanism then flourished.

According to the concurrent traditions of the Buddhists in various parts of Asia, the founder of the sect was the son of the king of Magadha in South Behar. Various names were given to him; he was frequently called by what appears to have been a sort of patronymic designation, Gautama, and by the complimentary surnames of Sakya-Sinha and Sakiamuni, that is the Lion or the Devotee of the race of Sakya. The title of Buddha which means "the Sage," does not seem to have been given to him till after the period at which he had attained eminent sanctity as a teacher of religion and pure morality. Among the Mongols, Siamese, Chinese, &c., he obtained other names. In China the word Buddha got corrupted into Fo-ta and Fo.

The circumstances of the life of Buddha which (with many variations) have been put upon record, are only few. A few days after his birth he was presented before the image of a deity, which bowed its head to the child, as a presage of his future greatness. In his tenth year the boy was placed under the guidance of a spiritual instructor. He soon developed mental faculties of the first order, and became equally distinguished by the uncommon beauty of his person. At the age of twenty years he married a noble virgin, who bore him a son and a daughter. He now fell into earnest meditations concerning the depravity and misery of mankind, the hopelessness of struggling on with a world of vice and woe, and he conceived a plan of retiring from human society into a peaceful, secluded hermitage. His royal father vainly endeavoured to frustrate this design; Buddha escaped the vigilance of the guards appointed to watch him, and fixed his lonely abode on the banks of a flowing, tranquil river, which calmed his perturbation and favoured his reveries. Here he lived during six years, in silent contemplation, undisturbed in his devout aspirations, and gradually encouraged in the belief that he could make his fellow men less selfish, less greedy, less ambitious and bloodthirsty, and more tender, more virtuous, and far more happy. The divine legation was wanting; but Buddha certainly aspired after good, and some truths and gentle precepts broke upon him, which were not surpassed in value until the establishment of Christianity, and which had never been equalled by any other religion. At the expiration of his six years of solitude and reflection, he came forward in the city of Benares as a religious and moral teacher. At first those who heard him entertained great doubts as to the soundness of his mind, but his doctrines soon gained credit, and were rapidly propagated while he yet lived. He is said to have died in his eightieth year. His last words are said to have been: "All things in this world are transitory and perishable."

His followers soon embellished the simple history of his life with miraculous incidents. According to their account he was twenty-nine years old when he left wife and children to assume the garb of the Ascetics, and live as a hermit. When he approached his journey's end, on the bank of the tranquil river, he cut off his long hair with the royal tiara still attached to it, and put on the mendicant dress. With the begging-pot in his hand he entered a town and begged for alms and food. He soon retired from the town with what he had collected, and seating himself with his face to the East, he ate without loathing his first mendicant meal, composed of the broken scraps which had been thrown into his begging-pot. For many preceding years he had been absorbed in the pursuit of human pleasures. He may have been cloyed and satiated with these enjoyments, but four incidents are mentioned to account for his sudden conversion. 1. One day, while driving in his chariot in great pomp,

he was startled by the sudden appearance of an old, decrepid, toothless man, tottering along with a staff. This sight first roused him to reflection, and he returned to his splendid palace impressed with the sad belief that all men are subject to decay. 2. Four months later, the sight of a poor wretch, squalid with disease, drove into his heart the still sadder conviction that man is subject to disease, and pain, and agony, as well as to decay. 3. Four months later he met a corpse; and he returned to his palace sadder than ever, for he felt that all men are subject to death as well as to decay and disease. 4. Four months later he met a hermit, who, though poor, was healthy and cheerful. He reflected on that mode of life which could thus produce cheerfulness of mind and healthiness of body, and he presently determined to become a hermit. Death had no terrors for one who believed that the dissolution of the body was the liberation of the soul from its earthly trammels. For forty-five years the acts of his life had been so many illustrations of the peculiar tenets which he inculcated, and foremost among which were charity, abstinence, and the prohibition against taking the life of any living thing. Major Cunningham has traced among the Buddhist remains in Central India striking representations of the principal events of the great teacher's life, as chronicled, amplified, and adorned by his followers in after ages. On one of the compartments of the Eastern gateway of a town, which was once a holy place, there is some very ancient and very curious sculpture. Three figures are seated in a boat, they are all clad in religious dresses, but one is the rower, one the steersman, and the third the passenger. On the shore are four figures, also in religious garb; one with dishevelled hair and uplifted arms, and the others, who wear caps, with hands clasped together in attitudes of devotion. The passenger is Buddha, who is crossing the waters which he believed to surround this transitory world. The figures on the shore are a disciple of the lower grade bewailing the departure with loosened hair and upraised arms—the customary manner of expressing grief: the other three figures standing with him are disciples who had obtained to a higher grade of intelligence and holiness, and who are comforting themselves with the reflection that all men and things in this world are transitory, perishable, and must pass away. The difference of rank is denoted by the bare head of the uncomforted mourner, and the capped heads of the other three, a distinction which still prevails in Tibet, where the lower grades of believers invariably go bare-headed, whilst all the Lamas or higher grades, including the Grand Lama himself, have always their heads covered.*

* Major Alexander Cunningham, Bengal Engineers, The 'Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India,' etc.

Adopting the now generally received chronology, Buddhism did not maintain its pre-eminence in India Proper for more than nine, or at most ten, centuries; but its wonderful progress in other parts of the world appears to have been coincident with its decline in Hindûstan.

In A.D. 400, it was still the dominant religion of India; in the middle of the next century, though its votaries were very numerous, and though it might still be called the prevailing faith of the people, it was overcast by other religions and sects. For another century or two it lingered about the holy cities of Benares and Gayd, but it was no longer the honoured religion of kings and princes, protected by the strong arm of power, "but the persecuted heresy of a weaker party, who were forced to hide their images underground, and were ultimately expelled from their monasteries by fire."*

It is difficult to account for the strong resemblance frequently found to exist between the dress, rites, and ceremonials of the Buddhists and those of the Roman Catholic Christians. In some respects, the resemblance is still stronger between the Buddhists and the Christians of the Greek, or those of the ancient Armenian, Church. An early account, communicated, no doubt, by some far-travelling merchants, of a Great Lama, or spiritual chief, among the Buddhist Tartars, seems to have occasioned in Europe the report of a Prester John, or a Christian pontiff resident in Upper Asia. During the greater part of the Middle Ages, Europe dreamed of this Christian potentate, whose precise residence, or even country, could never be discovered. An ingenious writer says,—"The first Christian missionaries that proceeded to Thibet were surprised to find there, in the heart of Asia, monasteries, processions, festivals, a pontifical court, and several other ecclesiastical institutions resembling those of the Roman Catholic Church, and many were induced, by these similarities, to consider Lamaism as a sort of degenerated Christianity. It should, however, be remembered, that at the time when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, Nestorian Christians had ecclesiastical settlements in Tartary; that Italian and French messengers, who visited the court of the Khans, carried Church ornaments and altars with them, and celebrated their worship in the presence of the Tartar princes; and that an Italian archbishop, sent by Clement V., established his see at Karakorum, and erected a church, in which divine service was performed with all the

* Major Alexander Cunningham. The major adds—"In 1835 I excavated numerous Buddhist images at Sarnath near Benares, all of which had evidently been purposely hidden underground. I found quantities of ashes also; and there could be no doubt that the buildings had been destroyed by fire. Major Kittoe, who has made further excavations during the present year (1853), is of the same opinion.

ceremonies usual in Europe. It is by no means improbable that the Lamas, whose court then began to assume a splendid exterior, should have adopted some of the forms of the Catholic service as they saw it celebrated by these foreigners, and that imitation should thus have co-operated in producing a similar mode in conducting the divine worship into religions essentially foreign to each other."* But long before the time of Pope Clement V., and the settlement of his archbishop at Karakorum, this striking resemblance existed. The Italian and French envoys or messengers, who were the very first to come in contact with the Khans, were struck with the resemblance, and at utter loss to account for it.

The first foreign country into which Buddhism was introduced from India appears to have been the island of Ceylon, which subsequently became and for some centuries continued to be the head-quarters and Metropole of that faith. Ava, Siam, Anam, and even part of China received their first Buddhist priests and teachers from Ceylon, and at this day there is a close correspondence and religious connection between the Indo-Chinese nations and the Buddhists of Ceylon. According to native historians, a sovereign of Ceylon, who reigned some eighty years before the birth of our Saviour, assembled 500 of the most distinguished priests, and had the tenets of Buddhism reduced to writing. Most of the religious books now found among the Burmese and Siamese come or came from Ceylon. An opinion is said even now to prevail among the talapoins or priests of Ava that out of the Burmese empire and the island of Ceylon there are no true and legitimate priests of the laws of Buddha. From Ceylon the faith was propagated in the countries beyond the Ganges, and throughout the great Eastern Peninsula. As the conversion became more rapid in these parts when the faith was most persecuted in India Proper, we may reasonably conclude that many professors and teachers of it proceeded from that country, and united their efforts with those of the priests from Ceylon.

Though introduced at a much earlier period, Buddhism does not appear to have made any great progress in China until the beginning of the fifth century of our era, when a translation of some of the sacred writings was introduced and diffused. From China Buddhism was subsequently extended to Corea, A.D. 528, and to Japan, A.D. 552. According to a Buddhist writer, a native of Ceylon, Buddha preached 84,000 sermons, which are all preserved in writing. Timkowski, the Russian envoy to China, saw, in the country of the Kalkas Mongols, in the hands of Buddhist priests, a sacred work, which consisted of 108 volumes. Among the ignorant Mongols, chests revolving on an axis, and covered with prayers in large gold letters, are frequently placed in the Buddhist temples, in order that persons who cannot read may come and turn them round as

* Penny Cyclopædia, Art. 'Buddha.'

long as their zeal prompts them; and this is considered quite as efficacious as if they recited the prayers themselves. The Lamas, however, treat these things as superstitions of the vulgar. Their religion is certainly not to be judged of by its corruptions in barbarous regions. It assumes its most attractive form in the recent and exceedingly interesting narrative of the French missionaries, Huc and Gabet, who travelled in Tibet, who knew the language, and who associated with many of the most respectable Lamas. From their account of it, every one will be disposed to place Buddhism far above Mohammedanism, and next only to Christianity.

It has been stated, that the Buddhists of Nepaul, even more than those of Tibet and far more than the Buddhists of any other country, have preserved the ancient doctrines of the sect in their original purity. If so, the practice of the Nepaulese ill accords with their precepts, for they appear to be more fierce and sanguinary than their neighbours.

It is to be remembered, as one of the best features of the faith, that Buddhism repudiates the tyrannical division of men into castes. Among the Burmese, Siamese, Anamese, Tibetans—among all the people who still adhere to that faith—the monstrosity of castes is unknown.

Some have presumed to compare the Buddhist Triad with the Christian Trinity; but there is no real resemblance between them. With the Buddhists it is not three in one. They have three separate, distinct divinities, each having his own attributes and functions, and never interfering with those of the other two. They believe in the eternity of matter, as well as in the immortality of the soul. But in the latter belief they differ widely from us. The Christian believes in the distinct immortality of each human being, and believes that each soul will for ever retain its personality or individuality in the world to come. But the Buddhist, while he admits the immortality of the soul, yet believes that its individuality will have an end, and that after it has been linked to a mortal body for an unknown but finite number of existences, it will at last be absorbed into the Divine Essence from which it sprang. In other words, when, by a series of transmigrations, the Buddhist attains to the highest grade of mortal excellence, and is susceptible of no further regeneration, he becomes absorbed into the Divine Spirit, and altogether loses his individuality or separate existence. The Grand Lama refrains from accepting the highest grade of mortal existence, in order that he may continue to be born again and again for the benefit of mankind. Were he once absorbed into the Divine Spirit he could return no more to earth, nor dwell in any kind of mortal, visible body.

Though the early Buddhists admitted the existence of a Supreme Being, they denied his *Providence*, in the full but most vain belief

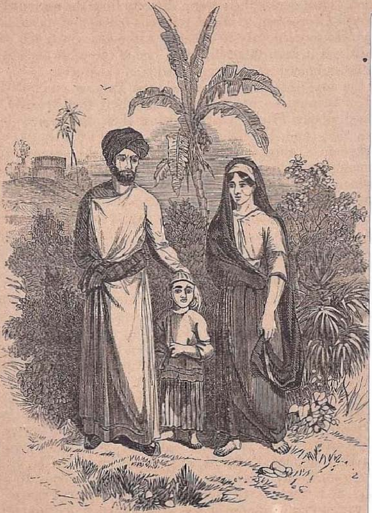
that without his aid, and solely by their own efforts, they could win for themselves an eternity of bliss.

Some of their moral teaching (in its pure original sense) is excellent. Buddha is ever at rest; no rude or violent passions can be known to him. Therefore, his worshippers must put aside all turbulence; must cultivate gentleness, evenness of temper, all serene and peaceful qualities, together with reverence and tenderness to all living creatures. The poorest men, of the vilest caste or race, may become one with Buddha; therefore no man must be ill-treated or despised.

This is not the place wherein to introduce details of Buddhist theology, or of their remarkable cosmogony, which is but a part of their theology. For these we must refer to the works of Major A. Cunningham, Professor H. H. Wilson, Hodgson, Prinsep, Turnour, and the other writers who of late years have bestowed much time, labour, learning, and ingenuity on the whole subject. Our present object is merely to draw attention to that subject, to show the vast range of the Buddhist faith, which seems commonly to be overlooked or forgotten, and to establish the important fact that India Proper was, in reality, the birthplace and cradle of that faith.

Many of the Buddhist remains found in Central India bear a close resemblance to the Druidical remains which yet exist in our island, on the coast of Brittany, and in other parts of Europe. In India, tumuli or massive mounds are surrounded by mysterious circles of stone pillars, recalling at every turn the figures of the ancient barrows and the Druidical colonnades of our own island. In the horse-shoe temples of Ajanta and Sanchi, on the Ganges, may be recognised the form of the inner colonnade at Stonhenge, on Salisbury Plain. There are Cromlechs in India as well as in Britain. In the plates to his valuable work, Major Cunningham gives two etchings placed side by side, one of a Buddhist Cromlech in Malabar, the other of that well-known remnant of the Druidical times, Kit's Cotty House, between Rochester and Maidstone. The two are almost identical. The bas-reliefs of Sanchi clearly display the worship paid by the early Buddhists to trees—a counterpart of the Druidical and adopted English reverence for the oak. Philologists have determined, without any doubt, that the Celtic language of our ancestors was derived from the Sanscrit, the ancient language of India. They have also conjectured that Buddha, or the Supreme Being worshipped by the Buddhists, is most probably the same as the great god Buddwas, considered by the Welsh as the dispenser of all good. These coincidences are far too numerous, direct, and striking, to be accidental. The Eastern origin of our Druids was suspected even in the time of the Romans. The younger Pliny says, "Even to this day Britain celebrates the magic rites with so many similar ceremonies, that one might suppose that they had been taken

from the Persians." Persia may be said, in a Buddhist sense, to be linked with India by a long, loose, irregular line of barrows, colonnades, and cromlechs. Starting from Central India, these barrows or topes are traced here and there to the Punjaub, to the regions beyond the Indus, all through Affghanistan and Khorassan, onward to the Caspian Sea, and thence all through Persia. Nor is the chain broken on the western frontier of the Shah's dominions; it is continued across Asia Minor, and all through Asiatic Turkey, as far as the limits of Syria and Egypt. Nor do the topes cease on the shores of the straits and seas which divide Europe from Asia. Beyond the Euxine, the Bosphorus, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the broad Mediterranean, they reappear in Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Thrace, Bulgaria, Servia, Thessaly, Macedonia, and in nearly every part of Greece, Albania, and Dalmatia; and from these eastern parts of Europe the chain of topes is continued by long, irregular, and often broken links, to most of the countries to the west and north, and to our own shores. The tumuli of the plains of Troy, which the most ancient of Greek poets appropriated as the tombs of Achilles and other heroes, are found repeated in innumerable other parts of Asia Minor. In European Turkey they abound. It would not be very easy to count how many of them exist only in that tract of country which intervenes between Constantinople and Adrianople. The Turks call them *tepés*, the Affghans *topes*, whence we and the present people of India have derived the name. But Dr. Rost, and other learned Orientalists, are convinced that the word *tope* was originally derived from the ancient Sanscrit word *stupa*, which signifies a barrow or mound, or conical elevation, whether of simple earth or built up in masonry. Most of the Indian topes appear to be at least cased with stone. Some of them are solid masses of masonry erected on some hillock or natural elevation. Others are hollow within, having small vaults and chambers. As bushes and even trees take root in the interstices of the stones which form the outward casing, these topes are frequently found crowned and covered with a luxuriant and beautiful vegetation, and have thus a very pleasing effect on the eye. After long toiling through the jungle, or across the still more monotonous desert of sand which flanks the Punjaub, it is a relief to the traveller to catch sight of one of these venerable Buddhistic remains, and to recal the memory of the barrows covered with green sward, as they exist in his native land.



Group of Parsees.

B.—PARSEES.

It would be an endless, and not very interesting or improving task, to describe all the impure religions and idolatries which encumber the rank soil of India. To the most conspicuous of them we have made sufficient allusion. It may, however, be well to subjoin here a few words about the religion of the Parsees, a people who are increasing in numbers and in wealth, and who already form one of the most respectable classes of the Indian community.

The Parsees, Guebers or Ghebirs, as they are variously called, are the descendants of a people whom the Mohammedan conquests drove from Persia, their native country, in the eighth century of the Chris-

tian era. They derive their origin directly from the ancient Persians, followers of Zoroaster, to whose religious tenets and moral laws they still profess scrupulously to adhere. Although now much corrupted among the illiterate, this religion is one of the most ancient, and at one time embraced a very large portion of the world.

In the first instance, the persecuted Parsees emigrated to the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, where they are said to have remained about fifteen years. Being then threatened by want on one side, and by their fanatical enemies on the other, they embarked in a number of small vessels to the nearest and most promising part of the coast of India, carrying with them their sacred fire, which, like that in the custody of the Vestals of old Rome, was never to be extinguished. After a tempestuous voyage they landed at Diu, on the Gulf of Cambay, a settlement which long afterwards belonged to the Portuguese. After remaining for some time in this place, they crossed the gulf, and settled themselves on the coast, a little to the southward of Surat. The Hindu rajah ruling over those districts, who does not appear to have been sufficiently strong or warlike to expel the strangers by force of arms, concluded a treaty, granting them permission to establish themselves in his dominions, and to build a temple for their sacred fire, on compliance with certain conditions. The most important stipulation was that they should never kill an ox or a cow (animals sacred to the Hindūs), nor on any consideration eat or taste the flesh thereof, and it is stated that this covenant has been faithfully kept to this day.

As they increased in numbers, some of the Parsees dispersed and settled at Surat, Bombay, Baroche, and other towns on the North-Western coast of India. Active, intelligent, and industrious, they applied themselves to home and foreign commerce, and many of the principal merchants and owners of ships at Bombay and Surat were and are Parsees; others engaged largely in the varied manufactures of the loom; even now, the best native carpenters and shipwrights in India are said to be of this race. Their merchants possess many of the largest and finest ships to be found in those seas, and in them they have of late years eagerly adopted all our European improvements. Trade has carried them to other parts of India, and wherever there is an important mart on the Malabar coast, on the coast of Coromandel, or in the Bay of Bengal, thriving Parsees are to be found. We have no accurate notion as to their total number, but more than half a century ago they counted 20,000 in Bombay alone. They are said to thrive where other people cannot glean even a scanty maintenance. In Surat they are the proprietors of half the houses. They are indisputably an industrious and increasing people, and a valuable class of the Company's subjects. Generally they are a tall comely race, athletic and well-formed, and much fairer than most of the natives of Hindūstan. Their women are celebrated for their domestic

virtues; the girls are delicate and pleasing, but the bloom of youth soon decays; before the age of twenty they grow coarse and masculine, in a far greater degree (it is said) than either the Hindūs or Mohammedans living in their neighbourhood. "Certes," says an old traveller, "of their young women, some have lovely countenances; they wear long hair and yet covered with a fine thin veil of calico, right pleasant to behold."* The Parsees are all worshippers of fire; scarcely a conversion has been made among them, either by Hindūs or Mussulmans, nor does it appear that Christian missionaries have met with more success. In every temple is a sacred flame, kindled at first from the fire originally brought from Persia, which is still preserved with reverence and awe at Oudwara, near Mursarree. These fires are attended day and night by the priests. They are preserved in large bright chafing-dishes, carefully supplied with fuel, perfumed by sandal wood or other aromatics. When Darius marched to meet Alexander the Great, the "eternal fire" was carried before him on silver altars, followed by the Magi singing hymns, and by three hundred and sixty-five youths clad in scarlet robes, to represent the number of days in the year. The vulgar and uneducated now worship the sacred flame, as also the sun, moon, and stars, without regard to the invisible sole Creator; but the learned and refined pretend to adore only the Almighty Fountain of Light, the Author and Disposer of all things, considering fire merely as the symbol of Him. If they have been correctly interpreted, Zoroaster and the ancient Magi, whose memories the Parsees revere and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught their disciples to consider the glorious sun itself as anything more than a creature of the Great Creator. They were to revere it as his best and fairest image, and for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth; the sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity; of which this element, is so expressive a symbol. In the words of an old writer, "The Parsees are so far from confounding the subordination of the servant with the majesty of its Creator, that they not only attribute no sort of sense or reasoning to the sun or fire in any of its operations, but consider it as a purely passive, blind instrument, directed and governed by the immediate impression on it of the will of God; but they do not even give that luminary, all-glorious as it is, more than the second rank amongst His works, reserving the first for that stupendous production, the mind of man."† But superstition and fable have, through the lapse of ages, corrupted the stream of this Theistical system. Indisputably, the common run of Parsees have taken the symbols for the reality, and now worship both sun and fire.

Herodotus tells us that the ancient Persians venerated fire as a divinity; and that the Magi, detesting the adoration of images,

* T. Herbert. † Grose, Travels.

worshiped the Almighty as exhibited in this element. At the same time they admitted two principles, one the cause of all good, the other the cause of all evil; the first was called Orasmades, the second, Ahriman — the one represented by light, the other by darkness. The morality of Zoroaster inculcates purity of word, action, and thought. To increase and multiply the human species, to add to its happiness, and provide it abundantly with the means of subsistence, are the general duties inculcated in the sacred books of the Zend Avesta. "He," says Zoroaster, "who sows the ground with diligence, acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by 10,000 prayers." He particularly enforces an attention to veracity, a quality or virtue scarcely known to any of the Eastern nations. He enjoins his disciples to pardon injuries, to honour their parents and rulers, to respect old age, to observe general gentleness of manners, and to practise universal benevolence. Fasting and celibacy are forbidden. Polygamy (as we might have judged from the virtue of the Parsee women) is reprobated. Marriage between first cousins is recommended as particularly pleasing to Heaven.

In the part of her journal relating to Bombay, Mrs. Heber says: "In our early and late rides I have been interested in observing these men on the sea-shore, with their faces turned towards the East or West, worshiping the rising or setting sun, frequently standing within the surge, their hands joined, and praying aloud with much apparent devotion, though, to my astonishment, I was assured, in a language unintelligible to themselves. Others are to be seen prostrate on the ground, devoutly rubbing their foreheads in the sand. . . . . Their principal temple is in the centre of the black town, where the everlasting fire is preserved by the priests. I never observed their women at prayer, but they are hourly to be seen mixed with Hindūs and Mussulmans, in crowds surrounding the wells on the esplanade, (which Mr. Elphinston had sunk at the commencement of the drought, but which in this severe scarcity hardly supplied the population with water,) and scrambling for their turn to fill the pitcher and the skin."

In the ceremonies of the Parsees round their sacred fire, the priest, in the words of an old writer, "giveth them water to drink and a pomegranate leaf to chew in the mouth, to cleanse them from inward uncleanliness."

In their nuptial ceremonies, as in many other particulars, the modern Parsees have adopted many of the customs of the Hindūs; but their mode of treating the dead seems to be peculiar to themselves. The body is conveyed away almost as soon as the breath of life has departed. The duty of carrying the corpse belongs to a particular set of people, who during the performance must neither speak nor touch wood; for which reason the body is laid upon an iron bier, and the drawbridges at the town gates, while they

are passing over them, are covered either with sheets of copper or with fresh earth. The body is laid on a bier, covered with a white cloth, and carried by six men clothed in long white garments, and closely veiled; it is preceded and followed by a number of persons in the same costume, walking two and two, each pair linked together with a white handkerchief. According to Forbes, there are two cemeteries, each being in the form of a circle, fifty or sixty feet in diameter, and surrounded by walls twenty feet high. Within the enclosure is a smooth pavement, sloping gradually from the inside of the wall to the centre, where it terminates at the brink of a deep well or pit. The bodies of the dead are laid on this stone pavement, which is divided into three distinct parts—for men, women, and children—who are all exposed stark naked to be devoured by vultures and birds of prey, which are generally seen over the mournful spot. Some relative, or friend, anxiously watches at a short distance to ascertain which eye is first torn out, inferring from thence whether the soul of the departed be happy or miserable. When the flesh is consumed by the birds of prey, the picked bones are thrown or swept down the well or pit, into which subterranean passages lead for the purpose of removing them when the pit becomes too full. "These unclean places," says old Thomas Herbert, "are better to be spoken of than seen! And note, that after the corpses are laid there the Parsees will never approach the spot; nor do they inquire after the bodies, but grieve exceedingly that a Christian should go thither to view them, or tell them of it. All are carried on iron coffins, because wood is sacred to fire, which they adore." Their objection to the approach of any European to these frightful Golgothas is very strong. Mr. Elphinstone says that any person, not of their own faith, found within the precincts, was likely to meet with very rough treatment. The Parsees regard with horror the Hindū practice of disposing of the dead by throwing them into rivers; yet their own custom can hardly be said to be less repugnant to the feelings of civilised nations. But this interment of the flesh in the stomachs of birds of prey has been reputed an honourable and enviable distinction. For a long time, the ancient Magi retained this exclusive privilege; afterwards the Persians exposed all the dead bodies of their friends, indiscriminately. The Parsees brought the custom with them into India, together with their sacred fire, and many other rites.

On a hill in the island of Bombay (it is called by Europeans Malabar Hill), are situated, all within a short distance of each other, the Christian churchyard, the Mussulman cemetery, the place where the better sort of Hindūs burn their dead, and the Parsee vault.

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